









GOBAT.

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JOURNAL

OF

THREE YEARS' RESIDENCE

IN

ABYSSINIA.

BY REV. SAMUEL GOBAT.

NOW BISHOP OF JERUSALEM.

PRECEDED BY AN INTRODUCTION

GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL, ON ABYSSINIA,

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH

BY REV. SERENO D. CLARK.

ACCOMPANIED WITH

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF BISHOP GOBAT,

BY ROBERT BAIRD, D.D.

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"Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God."—PSALM lxxviii. 31.  
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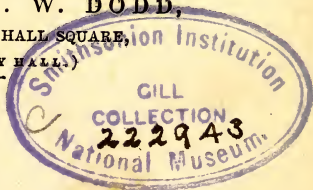
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## P R E F A C E .

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THE work here presented to the public, has been translated rather freely than literally ; the translator deeming it sufficient to delineate in his own way, yet truthfully and vividly, the various scenes, events, and characters sketched by the author. This he has endeavored to do without casting every period and paragraph in the same mould with the original.

He has also interwoven into the text of the translation some facts and incidents drawn from other sources, adding much to the interest and value of the work. This, it is believed, will be duly appreciated by the public, when it is considered, that there is scarcely a habitable part of the globe in respect to which there is so little reliable information concerning the past and present as of Abyssinia.

ASHFIELD, MASS., April 10, 1850.



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## BIOGRAPHY OF MR. GOBAT,

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ABOUT the time of my arrival at Paris, in the spring of 1835, a very interesting book was published in that city, which bore the title of "*Séjour en Abyssinie*."\* This volume I read with great interest, and sent it, a year or two afterwards, to the Rev. Mr. Clark, to whom the public are indebted for the present volume, who had written to request me to send him something which he might translate for the press: In translating the work, Mr. Clark has compared it, at every step, with a similar work which appeared about the same time in England, and which consisted mainly of the letters which Mr. Gobat had addressed to the Church Missionary Society, and which had been published in their "*Register*." This work he found to contain some things which the French work (that had been prepared from the German reports or letters of Mr. Gobat to the Missionary Institution and friends at Basle, and had been published in that language at that city,) did not; and on the other hand, the French work was found to contain some things which were not in the English volume. The result has been the preparation of a volume, which I do not hesitate to pronounce, more complete and satisfactory than any of the three

\* A Sojourn in Abyssinia.

volumes that have appeared in England, Germany and France.

Upon my return to this country, in the year 1838, on a visit, Mr. Clark requested me to write an Introduction to the volume, to consist mainly of a sketch of the life of the distinguished missionary whose self-denying and very interesting efforts to impart the Gospel to the idolatrous Christians and other inhabitants of Abyssinia it records. To do this it was necessary to obtain the information needed of some one who knew Mr. Gobat well. Accordingly, I wrote to the late Rev. Dr. Blumhardt, who was for many years "Inspector," or President of the Missionary Institution at Basle, whose acquaintance I had been so fortunate as to make during the first summer I spent in Europe. But my letter arrived some time after the death of that excellent man. The Rev. Mr. Ostertag, however, who was then an instructor in that celebrated seminary, and a nephew of Dr. Blumhardt, was so good as to reply to my inquiries, and even to procure for me the subjoined interesting letter of Mr. Gobat, who was then residing in Switzerland, on account of his health, which had suffered greatly during his two "sojourns" in Abyssinia. The reader, I am sure, will be pleased to read a part of Mr. Ostertag's letter. It is dated at Basle, March 25th, 1839.

"My Dear Sir,—I dare say the intelligence of the lamented death of the excellent Inspector Blumhardt has reached you since you addressed your last letter (of the 30th of January,) to him. This mysterious dispensation of our Lord, in which the whole Missionary Church is sadly interested, occurred on the 19th of December, 1838, after several weeks of painful illness. We incessantly united in intercession for his recovery, and for a time cherished the hope of

his being restored to the work, for a longer time ; but the Lord was pleased to take this valuable servant to the everlasting rest of saints, where he will reap in joy what he has sown in tears. In the meantime the superintendence of the Institution has been, under the Committee, committed to my care, as I had the privilege to labor a good while with the late Dr. Blumhardt in the Institution, and to be fully acquainted with his views, being his nephew and fellow-laborer. Some weeks since, a new Principal has been appointed, the Rev. William Hoffman, an excellent man, and distinguished for his learning, his piety, and his missionary spirit. He is to enter our Institution in the month of May. The Lord grant that His blessed work may be happily carried on by the hands of my dear brother, in the spirit of my ever-lamented uncle !

“ When your letter was handed to me, I at once asked the Rev. Mr. Gobat to be so kind as to answer your inquiries respecting himself with his own hand, seeing you would no doubt be more pleased with this mode of gaining your object than any other. You will find his letter, directed to me, enclosed.

“ As far as I have had the pleasure to meet with missionaries, I venture to say, that I have never seen a man like him. His humility vies with his eminent abilities, as you will perceive in his letter ; and his devotion and zeal are equal to his patience in the midst of great trials. It is now two years that he is led by the Lord’s mysterious dispensation into a painful cessation from all labors, and almost exhausted by manifold inward and outward trials, —nevertheless, he is as calm and serene as if the Lord had given him nothing but dainties.”

These extracts will suffice to prepare the way for the interesting autobiographical sketch, which Mr. Gobat gives in his letter to Mr. Ostertag, which is now submitted to the reader.

“ MY DEAR BROTHER,—

“ Although I should like to pass unnoticed through the world, since it has pleased the Lord to put me to silence, by the severe trials through which he has led me ; still it affords me pleasure to hear that Mr. Baird finds my Journal worth being published in America. May the good which it may contain, be blessed to some. Although

the modesty which may be in me, as well as my natural pride, make it unpleasant to me to speak of my poor self; still I cannot but comply with your wishes, and answer the questions proposed in Mr. Baird's letter concerning me.

"1. I was born on the 26th January, 1799, at Crémine, a small village in the valley of Montier, *now* in the Canton of Berne, (Switzerland;) but *then* under the French government, till the fall of Napoleon.

"2. My father and my mother, especially the latter, had a religious tendency from their youth; they never neglected divine service on the Lord's-day, without necessity; and the remainder of that day they usually spent in reading the Bible and other religious books; they had daily family prayer, though this duty was sometimes neglected in the season of hard labors; and in their business they were quiet. If there had been true and vital Christians in the neighborhood, they would have united with them; but still, before the year 1818, they were more under the law than under the Gospel. The doctrine of Grace was partially known to them; but they always thought that a something was necessary before they could apply it to themselves; and this something they never found. During the years of my infancy and early youth, my mother was under a continual sense of sin and guilt, yet not strong enough to deprive her of the hope she had of making herself fit to receive the Saviour; and thus they wanted both the true spiritual life. Nevertheless, when I remember the wisdom with which they treated their children, I am convinced that, even at that time, they were, without knowing it, under the influence of the Spirit of God. They had towards their children the most tender parental love, which could support the faults of childish levity, without excusing them, and united with an unbending severity against wilful sin, lies, disobedience and the like. But having both of them been in comparatively easy circumstances in their respective families, and lost the greater part of their property in the French Revolution and its consequences, soon after they were married, they had contracted a certain want of firmness, which, united to a tender conscience, made them almost unfit to deal with men. Their occupation was the cultivation of their own land, which, being in an unfertile spot, required much labor, until the year 1818, when my father, being charged with debts, and seeing that his sons (an elder brother and myself) were of no



use to him, resolved to sell as much land as was necessary to pay his debts; so that very little of it remained in his possession. Since that time a special spiritual blessing was granted to the whole family; so that father and mother, and their four children, were not only converted to God, within two years, but it has pleased God also to choose several of us as instruments to lead other sinners to the same Saviour, whom to know and to love we had found to be life and happiness. My mother especially, has since been a means of blessing to many around her, until it pleased God to take her from this world in August, 1837. My aged father lives with my brother.

“ 3. In my earliest infancy I was taught to look to God for every blessing, and to love him above all things; and in fact, I was almost as pious as a young child may be. My greatest delight was to read the Word of God, and then to withdraw to secret prayer. In my seventh year, I knew the Bible nearly as well as now; though there were many passages which I did not understand. Besides, I used then to read truly pious books. I prayed frequently to God that he would make me a minister of the Gospel. But this early piety proved to be as a cloud of the morning; for in my ninth year I began to doubt about some passages of the Bible; and a few years after I doubted about everything, even about the divinity of Christ and the immortality of the soul. Formerly my parents desired that I should study theology; but when the time was come to decide about it, they had had so many succeeding misfortunes, that they were no longer able to pay the expenses; and when, in my eleventh year, a friend of my father offered to pay all the expenses which my studies might cost, I was no longer disposed to become a minister; because I had still the conviction, that a minister must be pious; whilst my heart longed for the enjoyments of sin. Thus, from my eleventh to my twentieth year, I was an infidel, without allowing my parents to know it; for fear of causing them more sorrow. For the same reason my conduct was orderly, as far as I thought that my parents would see it or hear of it; still they were convinced that I was not in reality what I appeared to be in their presence. During that time I labored with my parents, only that I might not displease them; but I did not like any kind of occupation; my heart was the receptacle of so much evil. Whenever I could avoid the eyes of my parents or their friends, I was playing at cards with my equals, (who have since almost all become pious.) With

all this, when I happened to meet with pious people, I loved them, though, in general, I avoided their company as much as I could; and when, in their absence, people mocked or calumniated them, I used to defend them; for I despised all those who professed to believe in the Bible, and did not live according to their profession; whilst I considered pious people as sincere and conscientious. I knew the system of Gospel truths and of Christian experiences so well, that when, on one occasion, two young Christians were persuaded to sing a worldly song in a large company, not having the courage to warn them, for fear of derision, I went out to weep for them; not that I thought that they had done wrong, but because I knew how bitterly they would suffer afterwards, until their consciences should be quiet again.

“For several years I do not remember to have felt any want of a Saviour, nor any desire after God. The first occasion at which my heart was moved for a moment was the following. My parents had invited a pious minister (Mr. Bost) of the neighborhood to come and speak with me, without my knowing it; for, as he had the name of being very severe, when I knew that he would come, I always contrived to be absent. He arrived whilst I was at table; and at his sight I got somewhat uneasy. My mother perceiving it, and fearing I might absent myself, supposing too that it would be dangerous to attack either my unbelief or my conduct in the presence of several witnesses, asked me whether I would accompany him home; which I promised as the only means to avoid open shame. On the way the minister attempted many times to tell me the truths which my case required; but, for about an hour, I continued to avoid his blows and to turn such truths upon others. At the end of an hour, I perceived that the faithful minister was uneasy; he looked at me, and then to the ground, somewhat confused; for it was not his manner to make use of so much politeness when he thought himself called upon to speak to sinners. Perceiving that he was about to attack me directly, and to tell me: *you are the man*; and unwilling to oppose him, for fear he might give a mournful report to my parents, whom to offend was always painful to me, I took leave of him in an abrupt manner, under the pretext that I had some engagement. When I was at a distance, I looked back and saw the poor man wiping his eyes. At this moment I appeared really vile in my own eyes. I said to myself: it was love that brought this



man to our house ; it was for fear of offending me, that he tried so gently to come to my heart ; and now he reproaches himself of having been unfaithful ;—and I have dealt as a vile hypocrite. From this time, July 1818, I did not feel so easy in my spiritual death as before. In the beginning of October of the same year, my levity gave occasion to a young man to tempt me in such a manner, that, for the first time, I saw somewhat of the danger of sin. From that day I had no more rest ; I labored harder by day and played the whole nights through, in order to avoid the melancholy thoughts which pursued me ; for I had resolved not to think about sin, nor about God. So it was till about the 20th of the same month, when, after having passed a Sunday sleeping at church—where I still went to please my parents—and dancing in the afternoon, I had made an arrangement with some young men to play the night through ; but, when I went out, after supper, much against the will of my parents, I was struck with the idea of the presence of God. I went in again and took the Bible to read ; which I had not done for several years, unless I was bidden by my parents to do it ; but when I opened it I felt myself under the wrath of God and unworthy to read his Word ; and, for fear that my parents might observe my inward emotions, I withdrew ; it was between seven and eight o'clock in the evening. When I was alone I reflected a moment, and began praying with these words : ‘ O my Creator ! I have been told that thou hast sent thy only Son into the world to save sinners ; if it be really so, I pray thee to reveal him unto me ; for I am an undone sinner,’ &c. The more I prayed the deeper was the anguish of my soul. I felt as if there had been only one pace between me and irremediable, eternal death. I continued praying, and confessing my sins, until about three in the morning, when I said to God : ‘ I will not let thee go until thou hast blessed me ; and if I must perish, I will perish in thy presence upon my knees.’ A moment after this I could firmly believe that Jesus was my God, and that he had redeemed me ; and I spent some of the most blessed hours of my life ; but on the morning when I tried to rise, I had no strength left me to do it. When my mother came to see me in the morning, she said calmly : ‘ What is the matter with you, your countenance is altogether changed ;’ and when I related to her what had passed during the last night, she did not show any great surprise in my presence ; but she went to my father and said to him : ‘ We have neglected our children,

and we are not real Christians.' From this time they both groaned under a deep sense of sin for some months ; until the Lord spoke of peace to their souls. From this time I delighted in laboring hard during the day, and used to spend the half or two thirds of the night in praising God my Saviour. I desired to remain with my parents and to alleviate their situation in their old age. I thought for a long time of becoming a missionary ; but having had a very scanty education, and being about twenty years of age, I saw no possibility of it ; but still I was constrained to pray God to show me his holy will in this matter, and to call me clearly to the work, if it was his good pleasure. Once, on a Lord's-day, when I had been praying earnestly that God would make known his will to me, I got the certainty that he would do it ; though I did not know in what way ; and when I went home (I had been praying in a wood) I found a pious lady who was in correspondence with the Missionary Institution at Basle,\* and who asked me quite unexpectedly whether I would be-

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\* The history of this Missionary Institution is not a little remarkable. It owes its origin to the following circumstance, under the Divine influence and blessing :—

In the summer of 1815, about the time of the battle of Waterloo, a large army of Russians and Austrians under the command of the Archduke John of Austria—he who has figured so much in the recent history of Germany as Regent, or Vicar of the Empire which it was attempted to form—reached the Rhine, opposite to Basle, and prepared to cross over. To resist this army a large French force, under General Barbenaigre, stationed in the Fortress of Huningue (now destroyed), near to Basle, supported by 30,000 in the neighboring towns, under General Pinon, stood prepared. Had the Russians and Austrians crossed over and taken possession of Basle, that city must have been ruined by the cannon of the French fortress. Just as the allied force was about to cross, and the battle on the point of commencing, the magistrates of Basle—which was a neutral city—sent a committee to say to the Archduke John, that if the battle should go on, their city must be destroyed. Upon receiving this intelligence, he withdrew his forces from that point, and crossed the river a few miles above, and came round on the south, and the French retreated. No battle was fought, and Basle was saved.

In the midst of their joy, the people of this good city, which was the scene of the labors of Cœcolampadius, rushed in crowds to their churches and offered up their thanksgivings to God for this signal interposition.\* This done, they began to ask the question : “ What

\* Probably no city on the Continent has been more spiritually blessed than Basle. Whilst rationalism has prevailed, in the last century and the beginning of this, in every city of Germany and Switzerland, the truth has been dominant in the city which was reformed by the labors of Cœcolampadius.

come a missionary? My answer was: 'As soon as the Lord calls me, I am ready to it.' Upon this, without asking my consent, she wrote to the committee of the Missionary Institution at Basle; and in about three weeks I received the invitation to keep myself ready to enter the Institution with the first promotion that should be received; and in the beginning of 1821, I entered the missionary house, where I remained till the autumn of 1823. Upon this I passed one year at Paris, in order to study Arabic; and in 1825 I passed nine months in London, whence I was sent to Abyssinia.

"4. From the preceding statement, it is obvious that my attainments are very limited in every respect; for in my infancy I was in a most miserable village school, and only four months in a year, up to my sixteenth year, from which time to my twentieth year, I neglected every kind of study. The two years and a half which I passed in the Missionary Institution at Basle, could only remove my grossest ignorance. I have since tried to catch a little here and a little there as opportunities occurred. The Word of God has been and is still my principal study. I have begun eleven languages, besides my native patois; but most of them I know very imperfectly.

"5. The first time I was three years in Abyssinia, from the beginning of 1830 to the end of 1832; and the second time one year and a half, from March, 1835, to September, 1836; but I lay the

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monument shall we erect to commemorate this wonderful deliverance?" Some proposed one thing, some another, until it was at last suggested that they should establish a Missionary-Institute, in which to prepare religious teachers for the poor Cossacks from the Don, thousands of whom had just passed by in the Russian army. This proposition pleased all, and immediately they set about the work. In 1816, the Institution was opened. In 1818 the first of its missionaries left its walls. The number of its students, for years, has been from 40 to 45. It might have many more, if the requisite means were possessed. About 280 young men have gone forth from this Seminary, of whom 160 or 170 are now laboring in all parts of the world where missionary operations are going on. Many of its students are in the employment of the Church Missionary Society, the London Missionary Society, and the Netherlands Missionary Society. The remainder are in the service of the Basle Missionary Society, whose laborers are quite numerous in western Africa, India, and other parts, although its receipts scarcely exceed \$20,000.

The reader will be sorry to hear that the excellent and distinguished Dr. Hoffman has been compelled, by protracted and severe illness, to give up the inspectorship of this remarkable Missionary Institution; but who has been appointed to take his place we have not heard.

whole time on my bed, always suffering cruel pains; and was carried on a litter out of the country; wherefore I could do nothing during that time.

"6. In May, 1834, I was married to Maria, the second daughter of Mr. Zeller, director of a normal school (at Beuggen, near Basle) for poor schoolmasters, disposed to teach the children in poor villages, where they have not the means otherwise to provide for good and faithful schoolmasters. In the same institution there are always about seventy poor children, who are maintained and educated until they attain the age of sixteen years. The whole is supported by the gifts of charitable people. My wife accompanied me to Abyssinia, where she had a great deal of trials, especially by seeing me continually, for eighteen months, on the brink of the grave, even when she had the cholera; but, under God, she was not only the means of many comforts and alleviation of sufferings, but even of preserving my life. She has been pious from her ninth year. We have had three children, the first of which (born in Abyssinia) got ill on the Red Sea, suffered much through the Desert, and died on the Nile.

"7. My illness in Abyssinia obliged me to come back to Europe, where I have now spent two years, doing nothing; nor is my own, or my wife's health so far restored as that I could return at present to Abyssinia. Wherefore, I intend leaving this during the next month, for Malta, where I have been called to help in the revision of the Arabic Bible, and in the direction of the Church Missionary press.

"Now I fear I have been too long, and entered too much into details; but you may make an extract of this, according to your good pleasure. Will you have the kindness to assure Mr. Baird of my Christian regards, and believe me, dear brother, to be

"Yours in Christian affection, SL. GOBAT."

"BEUGGEN, 14th March, 1839."

In the early part of the winter of 1839-40, Mr. Gobat went to Malta, where he made his home for six years, superintending the publication of the Scriptures in the Arabic and other oriental languages. During this period he made one visit, if not more, of considerable length, to Egypt and the adjacent portions of Asia, to



promote the circulation of the Word of God. He also visited Germany during the latter part of that period. When the late excellent Dr. Alexander died—the first Bishop of Jerusalem, appointed and supported by the governments of England and Prussia,—the king of the latter, Frederick William IV., nominated Mr. Gobat for that post. After having received consecration at the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury, he set sail for his hard and sterile field of missionary toil, for such it deserves to be called, rather than a diocese. We are sorry to say that the last accounts which we have received of him, represent his health as being very miserable.

Few men of our times are more worthy of our profound respect than Bishop Gobat. It is the testimony of all who have seen him, that he is a man of extraordinary talents, great humility, and devoted piety and zeal. He speaks eight or ten languages. As to his knowledge of English, the reader can judge from the letter which we have given, and which has been printed without the change of more than a word or two,—for whatever idioms it may contain, they are such as any one may easily comprehend. We do not believe that Henry Martyn was a more remarkable man.

If the limits assigned to this notice of him permitted, it would be easy to give many striking illustrations of the wonderful tact which this remarkable man possesses for dealing with all classes of men. His admirable presence of mind and shrewdness, under God, more than once saved him from the greatest dangers among the Arabs. His life has been one of adventure, hardship, exposure, and suffering.

As to the volume to which the attention of the reader is now invited, it may be said, that it is full of interest.

It gives us a more correct idea of Abyssinia, and of the temporal and spiritual condition of its inhabitants, than any other book in the English language. No man can possibly read the account which is here given of the patient, prudent, and able manner in which Mr. Gobat labored, amid much suffering, for the salvation of the poor benighted inhabitants of Abyssinia, without being profited. What an idea this book gives us of the superstitions, ignorance, useless ceremonies of the people, and the still more useless disputes of its "wise men" respecting certain points in theological speculation, so prevalent in the East! And how admirably Mr. Gobat replies to these "sophists,"—one while candidly telling them that he knows nothing about the subject of their idle discussion, and at another trying to call their attention to those subjects of infinite moment, about which these Abyssinian Christians—as they are called—are so deplorably ignorant. It is a treat to follow him in all his conversations with this people, and see the admirable skill with which he deals with them and their opinions. Nor did he labor in vain.

But it is time to bring these introductory remarks to a close. The reader will find the translation faithful, clear, and readable. May the blessing of God attend it, and make it profitable to all who read it. It is commended to the special attention of young men who are desirous of going to the heathen world. They will learn from it how to deal with opponents of acute and subtle minds, whether Pagan, Mohammedan, or nominally Christian.

R. BAIRD.

NEW YORK, April, 1850.



# INTRODUCTION.

## PART I.

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### ABYSSINIA AND ITS INHABITANTS.

BEFORE introducing our readers to the interesting journal, which Mr. Gobat has written during his three years' residence in Abyssinia, it will not be improper to spread before them a general view of this very remarkable territory, as well as to detail a few of the more striking peculiarities of the inhabitants:—in a manner to transplant them upon the stage on which have been represented the various transactions which the following leaves unfold; and enable them more clearly to comprehend the connecting links, which unite the transactions with the laws and institutions of the country.

Abyssinia is a rich, mountainous district of Eastern Africa. It has often, and with propriety, been called the African Switzerland. It was known to the ancients by the name of Ethiopia; and its inhabitants, denominated by the Ethiopians, or the *blacks*, were early distinguished by their advancement in civilization, and their manifestations of bravery.

Nature has strongly stamped the face of the country; it rises in terraces from the shores of the Red Sea, till it swells into lofty pyramids and abrupt peaks, whose heads are crowned with imperishable snows, and which, as yet, no European has ever trodden. Since the learned Job Ludof, near the close of the seventeenth century, by his history of Ethiopia,\* gleaned chiefly from the records of antiquity, made known to Europe this mysterious region, few Europeans have been disposed to hazard their ease or safety, in efforts to satisfy the curiosity of the west, with reference to the actual state of the country or its inhabitants. Two or three, however, have ventured forth. James Bruce, a native of Scotland, who came to Algiers in 1764, in the capacity of English consul, first attempted to penetrate the rocky valleys of Abyssinia, where he arrived, after having spent considerable time in traveling through the countries of Numidia, Persia, and Arabia. He acquired the language, passed several years in the south-west provinces, and, on his return, in 1790, published an account of his travels; a work comprised in five volumes, and which, on its appearance, excited a lively interest in the public mind. Some years later, Mr. Salt, an Englishman, who had been, for a number of years, Consul-General in Egypt, traveled into Abyssinia, entering the country from the east, and, by the publication of his Tour,† drew the attention of Europe to the north-east division of the country, or the province of Tigre, as Mr. Bruce, some time before, had succeeded in

\* *Historia Ethiopica sive brevis et succincta descriptio regni Habysiniorum* Francof. 1681-1694. Vol. II. fol.

† *An Account of a Voyage to Abyssinia*, by H. S. Salt, Lond. 1814.

awakening an interest in regard to the south-west division, or the province of Amhara.

Pasture-lands, almost entirely destitute of trees, though abundantly watered, stretch themselves before the eye, in delightful perspective, through a great part of the more elevated regions of the country, some portions of which are cultivated with great care. These airy tracts are richly stocked with flocks of sheep and goats, and abound with herds of cattle and horses of a very superior breed. The people are beautiful, strong, and active; but they are continually engaged in harassing wars with their ferocious neighbors, the Gallas, who are perpetually invading the country from the south and west, and have already succeeded in subjecting a considerable portion of the territory to their savage sway.

The country is plentifully supplied with streams. The Blue River, taking its rise in the mountains of Gojam, flows through, and irrigates the valleys of the western provinces, and, afterwards, assuming the name of the Nile, fertilizes the plains of Egypt. Near this, heads another principal stream, called the Tacazze. It traverses the middle region of the country, is swollen by a multitude of tributary streams, and, after forcing its way through an immense barrier of rocks, enters the plains of Nubia, and finally mingles its waters with those of the Nile. Numerous smaller streams chequer the country in almost every direction, diffusing about them life, fertility, and abundance.

The same variety, which is everywhere so observable in the face of the country, also lends itself to the temperature of the climate. In the deep glens and narrow valleys at the

foot of the mountains, the heat is intense ; the thermometer not unfrequently rising to 100° of Fahrenheit. But the air becomes cool and refreshing in proportion as you rise ; and in the elevated valleys or table-lands, you breathe a delicious and exhilarating atmosphere, while the lofty summits tower into regions of perpetual frost. The year divides itself into two seasons ; the one, of storms and inundations, the other, of drought and burning heat. The rain commences in April, and continues till the month of August. During this season, the mornings are usually fair and beautiful ; as the sun approaches the meridian, the sky becomes darkened with clouds ; soon rain begins to fall, and for several hours pours down in torrents, accompanied by fearful exhibitions of thunder and lightning. The defiles and narrow ravines dash down their maddening streams, and the traveler is driven for safety and shelter to the heights of the mountains, and to the recesses of the rocks.

This region of the globe is rich in iron and gold ; the latter of which is frequently found even in the sands, on the shores, and in the beds of the streams ; but the inhabitants have not yet learned the wealth of their soil.\* No salt, however, has hitherto been discovered in the mountains. This article is brought by caravans, from the extensive plains, which separate the provinces of Tigre on the south-east,

\* There are some provinces where, according to the account given us by Mr. Gobat, the native inhabitants, when they find a piece of massive gold, a circumstance by no means uncommon, break off the corners and the outer edges, and throw the central part into the river again, as the seminal kernel, for the purpose, as they say, of propagating the metal.



from those of Dancali. This whole district, stretching four days' journey in length, and three in breadth, is covered with salt\* lying in horizontal layers, one above the other.

The sandy tracts, which stretch along the coast of the Red Sea, are almost barren wastes, producing little but mimosas, which sometimes grow to the height of forty feet, and are often surrounded by creeping plants, which clamber over them. As you ascend farther into the country, the ground becomes more moist, springs break out, fertility increases, and the plants assume a more diversified character. In this region are found forests, whose trees strikingly resemble the *manglier* of the Indies. The tamarind and the fig-tree likewise flourish here. But no representative of the Abyssinian forest is more worthy of remark, or striking in its form, than the kolquall, a tree which rises to a considerable height, and, spreading wide its branches entirely destitute of foliage, presents a spectacle very much resembling an enormous chandelier. In the vicinity of the ancient churches, date-trees, as well as the orange and citron, are found, which were probably imported by the Portuguese. To them, also, it is generally supposed that the Abyssinians are indebted for the culture of the vine, which has been introduced into several districts, and produces excellent wine. On the western declivities of the country, are large plantations of the cotton-tree; and not far from these, the coffee-tree grows in an uncultivated state.

Maize, of a luxuriant growth, abounds upon the high-

\* "The great plains covered with rock-salt at the bottom of the eastern mountains have excited the admiration of travelers. The salt here forms crystals of uncommon length."—*Malte-Brun*.



lands, where is also cultivated, to a considerable extent a kind of wheat, called *Teff*, which the wealthy families use for bread-stuff. Rich and extensive pasture-lands also stretch themselves before you, as you travel over these elevated plains, furnishing to horses, oxen, and sheep, abundant nourishment. The lowlands are covered with brush-wood and thorns.

Herds of horned cattle are numerous, abounding in every district. The sheep are small, and generally black. The horses are fiery, full of life, and remarkably fleet. The mules of Abyssinia are of an excellent species; they are used by the people, like asses, for beasts of burthen, and with them the Abyssinians perform journeys over the most difficult passes of the mountains with perfect safety.

The villages, almost universally, swarm with packs of dogs, both of the wild and domestic breeds, whose incessant baying is extremely annoying to the traveler.\* Apes of every description are found throughout the country, among which roam the lion, the elephant, and the panther; these last, however, rarely venture from their usual home, the highlands. The plains are infested with hyenas, whose hideous howlings—precursors of those frightful devastations with which they ravage cities and villages—continually break the silence, and echo through the darkness of the night. These animals multiply in a surprising manner, owing to the superstitious notions of the people. The Abyssinian verily believes that

\* The dogs of Abyssinia are of two kinds; the one used for the chase, and other domestic purposes; the other, a roaming animal, attached to no particular master, but collecting in packs, infest the different villages.

Jewish sorcerers, disguised under this appearance, descend from the mountains of Samen to perpetrate their fearful depredations ; and they are, consequently, foolishly deterred from giving them the chase. The country abounds with droves of deer, among which, the subtle, but destructive serpent insinuatingly finds his way, through the influence of his charm, and great numbers of them fall victims to his treachery. Hippopotami and crocodiles are found in the lakes and rivers, especially in the Tacazze.

Abyssinia is peopled by races of men, tinged with almost every shade of complexion. While, however, the black predominates, the color of the inhabitants varies from this, assuming brighter and lighter tints, according to location, till it reaches a transparent copper hue. For the most part, the Abyssinians are well made, and active. They are distinguished from the negroes by the regularity of their features ; and, indeed, they have little in common with them, excepting the dark color of their skins. They are not deficient in the capacities of the understanding, or the affections of the heart ; though these rarely arrive at any very high degree of elevation or refinement. The inhabitants of the south-west part of the country, or the province of Amhara, are better informed, more inoffensive, and civilized, than the people of Tigre, who are rude and uncultivated in their habits, quick and irritable in their passions, and among whom murder is no uncommon occurrence. The Amhareans are, therefore, frequent objects of pleasantry in the province of Tigre, where they are represented as a cringing and effeminate race. Slave merchants, indeed, well understand this difference of character, and, regarding the Am-

hareans as men of mild and benevolent dispositions, pay a high price for them much more readily than for the inhabitants of the northern districts, who have the reputation of possessing mischievous and vindictive tempers. Most travelers are of the opinion that the Abyssinians are peculiarly prone to lying; though our missionaries have not found them so much addicted to dissimulation and falsehood, as people who have been for ages subjected to the galling yoke of Turkish tyranny, and constantly compelled to resort to a variety of insidious arts, to secure their possessions, however small. Dwelling in his high mountain home, the productions of which are sufficient for his sustenance, the Abyssinian still breathes the liberty which glowed in the bosoms of his forefathers. This spirit of independence, where it has not been crushed by the iron footsteps of the savage Gallas, contributes much to give to the national character a certain degree of openness of disposition, and simplicity of manner, which renders the people more accessible to the voice of truth, than is found to be the case generally in Mohammedan countries.

Abyssinia is covered with cities and villages, and isolated habitations are here and there seen clinging to the sides of the mountains. The houses are mostly composed of mud, straw, and rushes; the people not yet having learned the art of building with stone. As there is little building timber in the country, a wooden house is rarely found. In locating their villages, they generally select some hill, or elevated position, so situated as easily to secure a vigorous defence against the assaults of their enemies. Caves are also sometimes used for human habitations. It is not, indeed, un-

common to find these dingy recesses, which the plastic hand of nature has hollowed out in the sides of the mountains, rudely converted into the abodes of man. The dwellings of the more distinguished families are ordinarily constructed of a number of rooms, on a level with the ground, arranged about an open court. Their floors are spread with carpets, and a kind of sofa is generally used for seats; as to the rest of their household furniture, nothing can be more simple and unostentatious than that of the Abyssinians. The form of their houses is usually circular, and so small as to furnish but very scanty room, even for a single family.

The clothing of the poorer classes of Abyssinia is extremely simple, consisting merely of skins, or pieces of cotton. A kind of drawers, and a strip of white cloth, wrapped about the shoulders, generally constitute their entire costume. The principal citizens, or nobles of the country, however, exhibit more taste, or at least more splendor, in their appearance. They usually wear a sort of under-dress, composed of white cloth from the Indies, embellished with embroiderings of variously dyed silk, over which they throw a loose mantle of cotton. They also decorate themselves with ornaments of silver about the neck, arms, and ankles. The dress of the females is in some respects quite becoming, being made so high as completely to cover their persons to the chin. They anoint their hair with a species of odoriferous pomatum, and sprinkle it with a powder of cloves.

The food of the inhabitants consists principally of milk, bread made of teff, or wheat, a very little leavened, butter, honey, beef, mutton, and fowls. They are extremely fond of salt and pepper. Their usual beverage is either *maise* or



*bousa* ; the former of which is made of honey and fermented barley, with a slight mixture of Taddo—a bitter root, which increases its intoxicating quality. This is kept for special occasions, and is commonly offered to visitors. *Bousa* is a kind of beer, which they use for their ordinary drink, and to which they are strongly attached. On their fast days, which generally occur on Wednesday and Friday, they are too scrupulous to take any kind of food, excepting fish and fruits ; though it is customary to compensate themselves for their abstinence during the day, by enjoying, after midnight, a regular repast. When the country is not deluged with locusts, a circumstance which frequently occurs, the harvest not cut short by drought, nor the fields wasted by any other casualty, the necessaries of life are very easily obtained in Abyssinia, and a numerous family is sustained with little difficulty. The young men consequently marry at an early age. Even polygamy is not uncommon, though the established church strongly evinces her disapprobation of the custom. She limits every man, in the matrimonial connection, to a single woman, and all besides, who pretend to sustain the relation of wife, she brands with the name of concubine ; and him, who, in defiance of her injunctions, hazards the experiment of indulging in the crime, she indignantly thrusts from her bosom.

In Abyssinia, as in all the East, woman is doomed to drudgery and toil. She is charged with the most oppressive and irksome labors, as well without, as within the house. The toils of the field, gathering the harvest, grinding the grain, and all the laborious duties of procuring provisions and water for the service of their families, fall to the lot of



the women; and you may often meet them with their infants in their arms, weighed down, and trembling beneath their crushing burdens. The richer class of females, however, perform their tasks through the intervention of slaves. They cultivate the growth of their finger nails, and suffer them to attain to a prodigious length, as a mark of their rank, or rather, of their idleness, though they take the precaution to conceal them within a kind of leather glove.

The education of children is far better attended to in Abyssinia, than in most Eastern countries. Many marks of this early training manifest themselves in the character and conduct of the youth. They are distinguished by a devoted attachment, and an affectionate obedience to their parents; and by a modest and unassuming deportment towards the aged. The youth are the flower of the nation. It is to them that the missionary will look with the fondest anticipations. On them must repose all his well-grounded hopes for the moral resurrection of this people. They present a sphere of benevolent enterprise the most cheering, such as the zealous messengers of Christ must ardently desire; and it seems only necessary that a few institutions should be erected peculiarly appropriated to their instruction, in order to see this nation elevated to a height of intellectual culture and moral excellence, which has never yet been attained by any people of Africa.

The ancient language of Ethiopia, usually called the Gheez, was, down to the fourteenth century of the Christian era, extensively spoken throughout Abyssinia. All the historical records, now extant, concerning the religious state and moral condition of the people, are written in this dia-

lect. It has, however, generally fallen into disuse, and is no longer spoken, except in the province of Tigre, where a few traces of it are still to be found. The language, which is almost universally spoken at the present time, is the Amharic—a dialect which was employed a few years since, in the first attempt made to translate the Old Testament Scriptures into the language of the country. It is also into this dialect, that certain detached portions of the New Testament, as well as a few tracts, adapted to enlighten and civilize the people occupying certain isolated sections of the country, have been translated and disseminated by the missionaries. There are a few other dialects still used in some of the more remote and secluded districts, which are of little or no importance with reference to the work of missions.

The productions of the soil, and the state of agriculture, differ materially in the different provinces. Some are highly cultivated, and pour an abundant harvest into the treasury of the husbandman, while others are left to luxuriate undisturbed, in the wildness of nature. In some districts, they use a species of plough, which is constructed from the root of a tree, and is drawn by oxen. Millet, barley, wheat, teff, and maize, are almost universally raised, and esculent plants, or vegetables, are occasionally cultivated. In several of the provinces, they double, and even treble their harvests annually. In the month of July, they sow teff and barley, which they reap in November; and the same field, without enriching it with manure, is immediately resown with barley, which is gathered in February. This is succeeded by a crop of teff, or a species of *pesette*, which is harvested in April, just before the setting in of the rainy

season. Barley is trodden out by oxen, and teff is separated from the straw by a kind of flail. The wheat is prepared for use, by braying it in stone mortars; an operation which, as well as that of making the bread, is chiefly performed by females.

The current money of trade is salt. For this purpose, it is cut into plates, ten inches in length, and three in breadth, thirty-five of which are estimated at one *eou* or *Talari*. In large commercial transactions, however, they employ gold, which is divided into small pieces, and which are estimated at eight eous, weighing an ounce each.

No traveler, down to the present period, has been able to give us any very decisive information in relation to the population of Abyssinia. The missionary, Gobat, although he resided three years in the country, acquired a thorough knowledge of the language, and enjoyed frequent opportunities of personal intercourse with the chiefs of various provinces, does not feel himself authorized to make any positive statements on the subject. We may, however, arrive at some general conclusions, by taking a survey of the grand superficies of the country, which extends from the 9th to the 16th degree of north latitude, and from the 53d to the 58th degree of east longitude, covering an area, 240 leagues in length, and 210 in breadth, which is everywhere studied with scattered habitations and numerous populated villages; a fact, which may reasonably lead to the conclusion, that the population is by no means inconsiderable. But after all, it must remain a matter of conjecture. Not only the wandering life led by a great part of the people, but also the perpetual wars, which keep entire districts of the country in constant movement, render it extremely difficult to ascertain, with any high degree of certainty, the

number of the inhabitants. It is a fact worthy of remark, that the numerous communities of Jews, or the *Falashas*, as they are called by the Abyssinians, in those parts of the country which they inhabit, exert an influence far more extensive than they have been known to possess since the era of their dispersion. It seems, indeed, a fact well authenticated by the historical records of Ethiopia, that the commercial relations, which existed from the remotest antiquity between that country and the Holy Land, were extensive and well established. It is also a fact attested with equal precision by the records of scripture history, that the children of Israel have, in all ages, regarded Mauritania, or Ethiopia, as a friendly country; and the visit of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon is not only confirmed by the traditionary annals of Abyssinia, but is there considered an event which might have very naturally occurred. Thus when the Jews, harassed by their enemies, and driven from their father-land, fled in crowds to Ethiopia, they were not only received as friends by the people of the country, but had the still higher satisfaction of seeing the peculiar rites of their religion adopted. But the miseries of the *Falashas* ended not here! They were afterwards attacked by Christianity. They then took shelter in the mountains of Samen, where they still exist, a separate and distinct people, exercising their own government, controlled by their own laws, and enjoying their own rulers; but they live on terms of so little familiarity with the inhabitants of the country, and are so deeply involved in the impenetrable shades of ignorance, that it is difficult to obtain any definite information respecting their actual condition; and although the missionary, Gobat, was



at much pains to inform himself upon this point, he has not been able to learn anything with certainty relative to the subject.

It is surprising that the Jews of Abyssinia have in their possession so few works of Hebrew origin. It is indeed reported that they have none, excepting a Coptic translation of the Old Testament, and of the Apocryphal writings—a translation strongly colored with the ancient Gheez language. Since the tenth century, they have enjoyed a form of government of their own, but there appears to be considerable doubt in regard to the time when their ancestors emigrated to this country. It is generally maintained by themselves, that they came over prior to the time of Solomon and Rehoboam; but notwithstanding the prevalence of this opinion, it is probable that the migration, properly so called, did not take place until after the destruction of Jerusalem. It is well known that the Jews swayed the sceptre of dominion over Arabia, and a portion of Persia, for several ages previous to the appearance of Mohammed; but when that malignant star arose, they withered beneath its influence, and soon bowed to the Arabian yoke. But as Christian Ethiopia resisted, with unbending obstinacy and heroic bravery, the inroads of Mohammedan fanaticism, the Jews, who resided within her borders, were screened from the power of the destroyer, and succeeded in maintaining their political constitution; and it is affirmed that they have still preserved their religion without contamination, their government and laws without infringement.

Christianity is the prevailing, or national religion, in the more elevated portions of Abyssinia, while the Gallas, who



cover the lower regions, are Mohammedans, or Pagans. The journal of Mr. Gobat paints, in lively colors, the deplorable state in which he found the smothered remains of the Christian church in this benighted territory. As the Abyssinians first received the gospel from the Coptic church, they, like them, have embraced the doctrine of the Monophysites ; or, in other words, the belief of those Christians of the primitive ages, who acknowledged but one nature in the person of Jesus Christ, while their opponents, the Nestorians, maintained there were two. This intimate and filial relation, which has subsisted for centuries between the Coptic and Abyssinian churches, still survives. Consequently, the latter are still in the habit of going to Egypt to procure their superior ecclesiastic, whom they call the *Abuna*, or Patriarch ; and hence it is that the Egyptians are the only people with whom the Abyssinians are on terms of friendly intercourse.

The civil commotions, which are constantly agitating the Abyssinian territory, render it extremely difficult to speak with precision concerning the political organization of the country. It may be said, however, that in modern times it has been divided between five princes, whose capitals are Gondar, Samen, Gojam, Begemder, and Axum. But these princes possess but little authority, and the chiefs of the minor provinces are perpetually infringing upon their rights, and invading their dominions. Formerly, Abyssinia was an absolute monarchy. The king, or emperor, was called the *Negus*, or Lord of the Lords of Ethiopia. He was crowned at Axum by the Abuna, and resided at Gondar. A short time since, Sebagadis, the Ras of the province of Tigre,

was the most powerful prince of the country; but since his death, which occurred not long since, in a battle fought on the shores of the river Tacazze, the country has fallen into the utmost anarchy and confusion.

*Ras* is the title given to the principal governors of the country; those who enjoy less authority receive the appellation of *Cantiba*. On the demise of a *Ras*, the question of his succession is commonly decided by the army, and, as among most barbarous people, *strength* turns the scale. The people manifest the greatest respect for their *Ras*, who is likewise the commander-in-chief of their army; ordinarily uncovering themselves to their girdles, when they stand before him. He is the absolute master of his subjects; their lives and possessions lying entirely at his disposal. His revenue consists of the duties paid him by tributaries, of the tolls which he collects of caravans and merchants, of the produce of his estates and the increase of his herds, and of the arbitrary contributions he exacts, both from his subjects and strangers.

He who would travel in this country with any degree of safety, must secure the friendship of some powerful *Ras*; for without such protection, he will be momentarily exposed to wrong and robbery. Nor will he be able to pass the limits of the district in which he may at any time reside, but through the influence of such official recommendations to the governors of other provinces. A thousand dangers throng the path of the wanderer over this mountainous region. He, therefore, who is desirous of passing through this country, or of sojourning in it for any length of time, needs, not only before all things else, to implore the guid-

ance and protection of the Father of mercies, and to enjoy the fullest confidence in the rectitude of his cause, but also to possess a thorough knowledge of the laws and customs of the country, as well as to subject his passions to the sway of an enlightened wisdom. Indeed, there is no object in life sufficiently elevated, no cause sufficiently pure, to warrant an equivalent compensation for all the hazard and sufferings which must be encountered in undertaking the perilous enterprise, but that of the missionary of the glorious gospel. But what nobler reward for all his privations and labors, or even for the sacrifice of life itself, can the ambition of any man demand, than the cheering hope of snatching from the empire of darkness, and of bringing back to the fold of Christ, thousands of immortal souls, who, upon the far distant mountains of Abyssinia, claim for themselves the name of Christians? Let it not be in vain that these brethren in Christ, who, for so many lingering ages have persevered in their attachment to the Christian religion, notwithstanding the efforts of Pagans, and the machinations of Mohammedans, notwithstanding the bitter persecution, and all the wretchedness and woe necessarily following in its train, of which their religious opinions have rendered them the unworthy objects,—let it not be in vain, that in the times in which we live, they have laid claim to our affection and esteem; that they have appealed to our sympathies, and solicited our active co-operation in the arduous work of diffusing among them the cheering light of truth and salvation. Would that their armorial ensigns, which represent, upon a red ground, a golden lion in the attitude of walking, with the device, “The lion of the tribe

of Judah hath gotten him the victory," might speedily receive a complete realization !

I have just mentioned that Abyssinia, in modern times, has been divided between five princes, and, consequently, into five grand divisions ; but, according to more recent accounts, it seems better to say, that it comprises three independent states, Tigre, Amhara, and Shoa, which last also includes Efat. The two former are the most extensive, and are separated partly by the river Tacazze, and partly by the lofty mountains of Samen, which stretch themselves in a gigantic range, to the majestic Laota. The inhabitants of the two provinces are distinguished from each other, not only by a different language, but also by a distinct national character. The province of Tigre has always been a powerful kingdom, and, down to the present period, has enjoyed entire independence of the *Negus*, or emperor, who resides at Gondar in the province of Amhara. But, during the late civil wars, which have rent the country, the independence of Tigre has received a severe blow. It is governed by the emperor's prefect or Ras, who sways the province with absolute control.

When the traveler from Jidda, by way of the Red Sea, arrives at the small island of Massowah, which is the key of Abyssinia, he enters a narrow channel, up which he sails to the port of Arteeko. Here he first plants his foot on the shores of Ethiopia. The whole of this north-east coast, which is called Barharnagash,\* and which is under the dominion of a chief of the same name, is divided into fifteen petty districts, each of which is governed by a pre-

\* Literally, Coast King.



fect, or rather, a chief of brigands, who leads, in his own district, a life entirely independent of the Ras of Tigre. The traveler who wishes to penetrate the interior regions of the country, must obtain, and usually by the payment of an unreasonable sum, the consent, as well as the protection of this last-mentioned prince. By this means, he will be able to traverse successively the territories of these petty chiefs with more or less security.

When one has passed the burning plains of sand, which spread themselves in the vicinity of Arteeko, he begins to ascend the woody defiles of Taranta, the first of those ranges of mountains which form the immense chain of Tigre. On the table-lands, which lie in the midst of these lofty peaks, grows the magnificent tree called the kolquall, stretching far to the heavens its leafless branches; while forests of cedar cover and adorn the fertile valleys, which repose at their feet. It is a romantic region, and often will the eye of the traveler be regaled with noble views of the snow-crowned tops of Tigre and Adowa, rising before him like the hoary Alps of Switzerland, and shutting in the far distant horizon.

This territory, the temperature of which is fresh and agreeable, is inhabited by men of almost every shade of complexion; and as one casts his eye over this rich and delightful region, peopled, as it is, by a nation abandoned to depredation and robbery, and hitherto entire strangers to the kindly sentiments of Christian love, he cannot avoid feeling the deepest sorrow.

From the highest part of the pass, or defile of Taranta, one begins his descent into the district of Dixan, which



also belongs to the territory of Barharnagash. The city of Dixan is situated on a rocky eminence, peopled in part by Christians, and in part by Mohammedans, a mischievous race of men, who are exceedingly troublesome to travelers. The most lucrative employment of this people is their traffic in children. These are stolen in Abyssinia, brought to the market of this city, and carried thence by the Moors to the port of Massowah, there to be sold, and transported to Arabia and India. Many Christian priests give their sanction, and even assistance, to this disgraceful commerce in human flesh! To the north of Dixan lies the district of Hamazer, which extends to the territory of the wild and uncultivated Shangallas. The inhabitants of this region are barbarous in their manners, cruel in their tempers, and although they have assumed the Christian name, they exhibit no redeeming qualities, which render them at all superior, either in refinement or virtue, to their idolatrous neighbors. On the south of Dixan are the two districts of Upper and Lower Bura, which are inhabited by rude and uncivilized mountaineers, living in a state of savage independence. Having crossed Dixan, the traveler enters the province of Tigre, properly so called, which presents a plain four degrees in length, and four in breadth, and is divided into nine districts. A pile of craggy mountains, called the Ambas, rear their towering heads high above the surrounding plains, which are remarkable for their fertility. This region is stamped throughout with the beautiful and picturesque, and the atmosphere is uniformly pure and salubrious.

Adowah, the capital of Tigre, is situated upon the declivity

of a hill ; the houses are built in the form of a cone ; the streets are narrow, and frequently interrupted by small gardens, planted with a species of tree called *Wanga*, affording delightful shades, and presenting a pleasing prospect to the eye. Three rivers wind their way through the plain below, diffusing about them verdure and fertility. In this city is a *dépôt* for caravans ; they collect here the various articles of traffic, which are easily transported thence to the shores of the Red Sea. The heights in the city and vicinity, are graced with numerous churches, chiefly inhabited by lazy monks. There are about three hundred houses in Adowah, which, according to the estimate of Bruce, though probably erroneous, must contain nearly eight thousand inhabitants. The city is ordinarily the residence of the Ras of Tigre, with whom the missionary Kugler, and his associate, Aichinger, sojourned for a considerable time, while they were effecting a translation of the Holy Scriptures, and of a few tracts, for the benefit of the rising generation, into the language of the country. The house of the Ras is distinguished from the rest, rather by its size than its form ; it stands on an eminence, commanding a view of the city, and resembles a prison more than a palace ; for it secures within its walls about four hundred prisoners loaded with irons, besides numerous other culprits, confined in cages, like untamed beasts.

The traveler, continuing his route westward from Adowah, crosses bold elevations, swelling hillocks, and valleys finely watered ; and, after passing through a long defile, suddenly strikes upon the ruins of the famous city of Axum, which, in former times, was the cradle of the literature, the refine-

ment, and the civilization of the country, as well as the seat both of its spiritual and temporal power. These remarkable ruins lie scattered between two mountains, rising above them, and fencing in a fertile valley, rich with verdure, and blooming with beauty; where the river Marab, watering, in its course, the province of Tigre, takes its rise. A few flights of steps, leading up the adjacent declivities, conduct to those subterranean caverns, which having been hollowed out from solid rock, and embellished with graceful columns, are supposed to have served, for the final restingplace of the ancient kings of Ethiopia. The superstition of the people still points to the traditionary tomb of the Queen of Sheba, whose memory they preserve with a care approaching religious veneration. Here are, also, several obelisks, proudly rising towards heaven, similar to those in Egypt, and which, like those ancient master-pieces of art, speak to the passers-by of a magnificence which is now no more; and announce to successive generations the indelible truth, that vanity and decay are the lot of all things earthly. A square pillar, bearing a Greek inscription, erected at this place, also speaks of departed glory; indicating that this city, though now in ruins, was once the centre of the powerful kingdom of Abyssinia.

Turning from this place to the east, one enters the district of Agame, or Agouwa, which, situated on an elevated table-land, rising high above the level of the sea, enjoys a salubrious atmosphere—fine and refreshing breezes. Genater, a small place, mean in its appearance, composed merely of a mass of conical huts, above which towers an immense overhanging cliff, is its capital. The vicinity abounds with

villages; but their names are constantly changing, and, indeed, their existence is extremely precarious, owing to the devastations and turmoil with which the civil wars are perpetually deluging the country.

The province of Enderta lies on the south of Agame, extends to the mountains of Senaf, and is divided into a great number of petty districts. The small town of Muzza is located in a rich and productive region, and at some distance from it, lies the town of Ademaza. The whole neighboring region is highly cultivated, and finely watered. It abounds with game, which is an object of pursuit, both for the lion and the hunter. Antalo is the capital of this province; it is composed of about a thousand houses, chiefly covered with thatch. To the east of Antalo is the town of Chelicut, planted on the banks of a delightful stream, and in one of the most beautiful and picturesque valleys of Abyssinia. At a considerable distance to the west, rises the mountainous district of Wazza—a district wild, uncultivated, and without inhabitants, though watered by numerous streams.

To the south of Enderta is Wodjerat, a province of considerable extent from east to west, distinguished for the whiteness of its honey, and for the bravery of its inhabitants. In Wofila, a district at no great distance from the last-mentioned province, and in which reposes the great lake Ashangeel, the pagan Gallas have mingled with the original proprietors of the soil, and have adopted the Christian religion. The people generally maintain that they are descended from the Portuguese soldiers, who established themselves in the territory sometime during the fifteenth



century; and they are manifestly proud of their European descent. They are, indeed, the finest race of men in the country, being everywhere esteemed for their fidelity, and respected for their courage. The lake Ashangeel is about the size of lake Tyrana, in the province of Amhara, being about three days' journey in circumference.

The most southern district of the province of Tigre is that of Lasta, a region abounding with enormous rocks and abrupt cliffs, among which the summits of the Ur pierce the sky with their lofty heads. The capital, Sokata, a city considerably larger than that of Antalo, lies upon the banks of the Tacazze, which rises in these elevated regions. Dufat is perched upon a rocky point, called Amba; and not far from this mountain fortress is Senare, where the governors of the district usually reside. Hanging upon another gigantic peak, rests a church, named Dohummada Mariam, that constantly reminds the inhabitants of the light of Christianity, which once shone out brightly from this consecrated spot, but which now, alas! shines no more. The men are excellent horsemen, and compose the best part of the Tigrean army. On the north of Lasta, are several mountainous districts, peopled by the christianized Agows. Their dwellings are distinguished by a kind of architecture peculiar to themselves, somewhat resembling the ancient temples of Egypt.

Abergale is a small province, extending from north to south about twenty-four leagues, along the eastern bank of the Tacazze, with which a number of tributary streams, dashing from the mountains, mingle their agitated waters. This portion of Abyssinia is remarkable for its extreme



heat; the temperature in the middle of the day being almost insupportable. It affords rich and luxuriant pasturage, and, upon the edge of the burning *steppes*, wheat sometimes grows to the extraordinary height of twelve feet. It also yields an abundant produce of cotton, swarms with herds, and the hippopotami are by no means uncommon. The Agows have taken possession of, and colonized the greater part of this productive region.

On the western shore of the river lies the province of Samen, the most elevated division of Abyssinia. It is a region extremely cold; being often chilled with frost, and shrouded in snow, while the plains and lowlands beneath are withered by a burning sun. This province is peopled mostly by the Falashas or Jews, who planted themselves in the country at a period long since faded from the memory. The Gideon, or the mountain of the Jews, lifts its majestic head in the distance, proclaiming by its name, the former consequence of this peculiar people. Sagonet is the capital of the province, and contains a numerous population. Temben, the northern district, is inhabited by the Agows, who dwell in their Egyptian houses. These people have established themselves about the sources of the Nile, and, being deluded votaries of idolatry, worship the god of the river. Their manners are entirely Egyptian; and every feature in their character justifies the conclusion, that they maintain, with propriety, the antiquity of their Phenician nobility.

Upon the northern frontier of Abyssinia, and under the fifteenth degree of the same latitude, lies the province of Shire. Its thick and exuberant forests swarm with monks and anchorites, who, clothed in yellow robes, lashed about

the waist with ropes instead of girdles, roam over the country, scourges wherever they pass, on account of the corruption of their manners. Walduba and Wolkayt are two districts situated in the north-west corner of the country. They acknowledge their dependence on the Ras of Tigre, and pay him annual tribute.

The extensive province of Amhara is washed on the east and west by the two grand sources of the Nile, the Tacazze and Abawi.\* Although it may have originally enjoyed the reputation of inclosing within its boundaries the residence of the Abyssinian emperor, it can no longer lay claim to the distinction; the crown having long since fallen from his head. The savage Gallas, on the one hand, and the warlike Tigreans, on the other, have at length succeeded in rifling this people of their former supremacy. The name, Amhara, although it is more particularly appropriated to a single district, is generally employed to designate all that extent of territory, in which the Amharic language is spoken, and which the celebrated prince, Googsa, consolidated into an independent state, and subjugated to his control. From the year 1814 until a recent date, he held almost undisputed sway over this province; and, during that time, the emperor was confined a prisoner at Gondar. But the wheel of Providence was rapidly revolving. Googsa himself, the powerful chieftain of all that wide-spreading region west of the Tacazze, was soon to experience a reverse of fortune. Continually employed in harassing warfare with the Ras of Tigre, perpetually struggling to gain the ascendancy over him, and to attach his territories to his own, he

\* In the Amharic language, *the Father of Waters*.

determined to increase his power, by allying himself with the ferocious Gallas ; an event which prepared the way for the ruin of his country.

Amhara is a high, mountainous region, stretching on the one hand to Kaura, and gradually declining on the other to the shores of the Kolla. The highest peaks are to be found in the province of Gojam, from which issue the principal sources of the Nile. In this district rises the lofty chain, to which the name of Ambas is more properly applied, and which fortifies the country against its warlike neighbors. No traveler, since the time of Bruce, has undertaken the perilous enterprise of penetrating this unfrequented section of the country, and the interior still remains completely veiled to European knowledge. We may soon expect, however, to come into possession of new facts. Whatever discoveries Mr. Ruppel, who arrived at Gondar the past year, shall succeed in effecting in this mysterious region, will soon be made known ; though they must be less extensive, with regard to the manners and habits of the people, than might have been justly anticipated, did he not labor under the disadvantage of being unacquainted with the language of the country. Yet, with reference to the disclosures which this learned and indefatigable traveler will be able to make concerning the different subjects of natural history, we may indulge the most sanguine expectations : and should the protection of Heaven be vouchsafed to the mission which Mr. Gobat has recently commenced with such commendable courage and zeal, we may confidently expect soon to receive accurate information of the laws, customs, and manners of life generally adopted by this interesting

people, and which will be, at once, curious and instructive.

Among the different districts of Amhara must be reckoned that of Tembea, situated to the north of lakes Tzanna and Dembea. The face of the country is level; the soil rich and productive, yielding various kinds of grain, especially wheat, of excellent quality. One enters this region from the province of Tigre, by traversing the celebrated defiles leading through the mountains, known by the names of Lamalemon and Inchetkaub. They are steep and narrow passes, cutting an elevated ridge, whose summits rise one above another "in nature's hurried mood," presenting a spectacle of wildness and grandeur. The highlands reposing among them are usually flat, abounding with corn, and destitute of forests. This district is bounded on the south by a range of mountains, rising considerably higher than Kaffa and Narea.

Lake Dembea is the largest collection of water known in the country. Its greatest width, from east to west, is fourteen leagues, and its length about twenty. In the season of drought its waters are sensibly diminished; but during the succeeding months of rain, it is swollen by numerous streams, which not unfrequently cause its banks to overflow. If we may believe the Abyssinians, forty or fifty small islands are sprinkled upon the bosom of the lake, which are often used for prisons to confine the guilty, or for places of shelter and concealment in times of war.

The capital of Amhara, and indeed, of the whole country, is Gondar, crowning a commanding eminence. According to the computation of Bruce, it contains about ten thousand



families. The houses are built chiefly of earth or clay, with conical roofs of straw. The royal mansion is located in the western part of the city. It formerly presented the appearance of a magnificent building, but at present, offers little to the eye, save a dreary scene of ruins. It was built in the form of a square, with towers or battlements surmounting its several corners, and arose four stories in height, all of which are now leveled to the ground, and fast crumbling away. The emperor's hall of audience was situated on the ground floor, and measured an hundred and twenty feet in length. The whole palace was surrounded by a wall like a fortress. The river Koskam flows at the foot of the elevated site of the city, traversing a deep valley, issuing out of which are three ways, which lead into the interior of the country. Opposite this valley, on the right bank of the river, rises the location of Gondar. It is a fine city, inhabited principally by Mohammedans, and composed of about a thousand houses.

South-east of lake Dembea lies the province of Belessem; the capital of which, Empras, is built on the top of a high mountain, and contains about three hundred houses. The site of this town commands a beautiful and varied prospect. Immediately beneath your feet is spread the silver surface of the lake; beyond this, stretches a wide extent of country, opening to the eye a rich series of meadow, field, and forest, in delightful perspective. This place was once the residence of the king, or emperor, as he is usually styled in Europe. Its glory, however, has now departed. It is inhabited mainly by Mohammedans, whose principal employment is trading with the Gallas.



It is in the narrow valleys and glens of Gojam that the sources of the Nile are to be found. They ooze from the ground and form small rivulets in the vicinity of the village of Geesh ; afterwards, swollen by numerous streams, they wind their way through the western provinces of the kingdom of Amhara. This section of country is rendered highly productive, in consequence of the fertilizing waters flowing through it. It is covered with fine fields of superior pasturage, and stocked with numerous herds of excellent cattle. It supports a large population, among whom are crowds of ignorant and degraded monks, who are often at variance with each other. In the district of Damat, tower the mountains of Amid, which must be ranked among the most remarkable elevations of Abyssinia. The capital of this district is Bura. The climate is mild, agreeable, and healthy ; the intensity of the heat in the middle of the day being usually allayed by refreshing breezes.

The honey, as well as the gold, frequently found in this region, is of an excellent quality, but the rudeness and barbarity of the people make, to the feeling mind, a painful contrast with the beauty which nature has lavished upon this portion of her creation. The savage inhabitants, like the ferocious beasts that roam their forests, have chosen, for their rude dwellings, the caverns of the mountains.

The province of Maitsha extends along the right banks of the Nile, to the point where the river enters and traverses lake Dembea. This region, the inhabitants of which are mostly of Galla origin, seems not to be wanting in executive authority, there being not less than ninety-nine petty chiefs, who hold the sceptre of dominion in their narrow

limits. Ibaba, the capital, is said to rival Gondar in population, wealth, and magnificence. The Agows have located themselves in the district, and cultivated the soil. The houses of the Maitshans are of a fashion altogether peculiar. They select a parcel of ground, which is divided into four parts, by running through it two hedgerows of thorns, at right angles with each other. The principal, or most eligible section, the father of the family selects for his own use, and erects within it a small hut; the remaining divisions are occupied by the other members of his household. They cultivate these hedges with the greatest care, so that they soon afford a strong bulwark of defence, behind which, the family are enabled to resist the encroachments of their enemies.

The remaining provinces of Amhara are scarcely known, even by name. The barbarity of the people has hitherto prevented Europeans from visiting their villages. This is particularly true of the south-eastern districts. The traveler, in passing from Amhara into the territory of Shoa or Efat, the third grand division of Abyssinia, and inhabited exclusively by savage hordes of Gallas, must encounter the perils of a passage leading through bewildering forests and desert wilds, swarming with robbers and beasts of prey; and boldly make up his mind to hazard his life at every advancing step of his journey.

Efat, which lies under the ninth degree of north latitude, and stretches to a considerable length from north to south, is a rugged and mountainous district; the governor of which has rendered himself independent of the Abyssinian emperor. The capital, the usual residence of the prince, is

the city of Ankobar. This province is generally regarded as one of the most wildly beautiful, and wealthy portions of the country.\* It has been, however, hitherto entirely inaccessible to the Europeans, although the inhabitants have assumed the Christian name.

The province of Shoa likewise extends along the shores of the Nile. It is remarkable for its picturesque and fertile valleys, covered with villages, and cloisters crowded with indolent monks. If we may rely upon the information given us by the traveler, Salt, the people of these two provinces are remarkably distinguished from the rest of the Abyssinians both by retaining the manners and customs of the ancient Ethiopians, and by preserving a certain degree of refinement and civilization generally diffused among them. The province is said to be favored with men of considerable learning, who are not of the priesthood; and whose commendable efforts have been thus far successful, in keeping alive in the minds of their countrymen, a glimmering desire for instruction.

Farther than this, the province of Shoa is almost entirely unknown to Europeans, the entrance, for a long time past, having been almost completely closed to the ingress of strangers, in consequence of the ruthless inroads made into the district by the fierce predatory bands of the Gallas. The light of Christianity, however, which these rude barbarians have happily preserved, still gives forth its pale, flickering lustre. Its life-giving spirit has, at least, induced great numbers to adopt the forms, and practise the rites of the Christian religion. Would that its traces were more

\* The supposed scene of Johnson's *Rasselas*.

clearly visible; would that the happy epoch, perhaps not far distant, might speedily arrive, when these deluded votaries of "the Unknown God" shall sincerely abandon the degrading principles of paganism, and become the humble followers of the blessed Jesus!

As the missionary, Gobat, in the course of his journal, has made frequent mention of these savage hordes of Gallas, which infest the country, we cannot deem it altogether improper, briefly to delineate their character, and to sketch the events of their history. They are a subtle and vigorous foe; forming the most powerful and dangerous enemies the Abyssinians have to encounter. Enterprising and warlike, they have succeeded, by their martial prowess and unflinching courage, in penetrating a great number of the finest provinces of the country,—have rent asunder the once powerful empire of Abyssinia, and arrested, in various ways, the progress of Christianity, civilization, and refinement. For three centuries past, they have kept the Abyssinians in a state of perpetual excitement and alarm; have compelled them, even while treading their own rugged mountains, the free inheritance of their fathers, to carry their arms continually about them, as ready weapons of defence. They are divided into several branches or tribes, the principal of which are the eastern, or Bertuma Gallas, and the western, or Boren Gallas. They seem to have originated in the southern part of Africa, and to have advanced northward in their career of subjugation. They made their first incursion into the lower provinces of Abyssinia, in the year 1537, and have thus far made constant and uninterrupted advances in depredations and conquests. To the west, they



have gone to a considerable distance beyond Gondar ; to the north, as far as the province of Lastra, and in a north-easterly direction, to the borders of Enderta. Wherever they go, blood and conflagrations follow in their train. They give no quarter ; they spare neither age nor sex, not even the blooming infant at its mother's breast. Nearly twenty tribes are now established in the country. They are entirely independent of each other, selecting and following their own leaders. Many of them, like the Gothic hordes of former ages, who ravaged the provinces of the Roman empire, have gradually assumed the Christian name, from the name of the conquered ; though others still preserve their attachment to the religion of Mohammed. Most of them, however, are plunged in the deepest night of paganism ; and the cruelty of their tempers is only equaled by the coarseness and barbarity of their manners.

Formerly, while they led the wandering life of Nomads, their food consisted principally of milk, butter, and meat ; but they have recently become more civilized in their manner of life. Most of them have built themselves houses, engaged in agriculture, and gather most of their sustenance from the produce of the soil. They ordinarily wear no kind of clothing except a couple of skins, the one wrapped about the loins, and the other suspended from the shoulders. They possess great fire of spirit ; the energy of their national character, combined with a kind of civilization they have acquired in the provinces in which they have established themselves, are frequent subjects of remark.

These last-mentioned facts, together with the present condition of the Galla tribes, lead us to conclude that they



are a people well prepared for the work of evangelical missions ; especially, since the missionary Gobat has expressed the opinion, that a messenger of Christ might probably plant himself among them without the exposure of either life or property.

## PART II.

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### HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE ABYSSINIAN CHURCH.

It is generally admitted that Christianity was first introduced into Abyssinia about the year of our Lord 330, at the time when Athanasius was patriarch of Alexandria in Egypt. Meropius, a merchant of Tyre, setting sail from his native city in quest of traffic and commercial adventure, is said, if we may believe the report of tradition, to have landed upon the shores of Ethiopia. He there sickened and died; but his sons, Frumentius and Edesius, both men eminent for piety, surviving their father, remained in the country. They were not permitted, however, to remain unmolested. Destined as instruments of good, they must be tempered for their work by the heat of the furnace. Falling into the hands of the savage and unfeeling inhabitants, they were seized and dragged before the king, whom they were compelled to serve as slaves. But the God whom they adored was with them, and they soon succeeded in securing the favor, and gaining the esteem of their royal master, by means of their various and extensive learning, and by the spirit of genuine Christianity, which uniformly breathed in their lives. They became the favorites of the prince; he

gave them their liberty, and promoted them to places of honor and emolument about his court. After the death of the king, the widowed queen became ardently attached to the strangers, and as they had previously won the confidence and respect of all classes of people, they began, under her protecting influence, to disseminate the seeds of Christianity throughout the provinces of Abyssinia, with extraordinary zeal and unwonted success. Having, for several years, diligently prosecuted their benevolent and laborious enterprise, Frumentius, leaving his brother in the country, made a journey to Alexandria, to announce to the patriarch the happy success that had attended their efforts for the conversion of the Abyssinians to Christianity; and before his return, was named the first bishop of Ethiopia. Both himself and confederates were now fired with increased zeal; they availed themselves of the opportunity afforded by the favorable disposition of the queen, to build and consecrate a number of churches, and to ordain as ecclesiastics, several of those who had recently embraced the doctrines of the cross.

It is from this date that the Abyssinian church assumes importance in the annals of ecclesiastical history. Through all succeeding ages, from that period to the present, she has received her superior ecclesiastic, or *Abuna*,\* by the appointment of the patriarch of Alexandria; and has continued, with little interruption, to maintain an intimate connection with the Coptic church of Egypt. In consequence of this bond of union, which had so early, and so firmly linked them together, when, during the fifth century, the

\* Literally, Our Father.

discussions, occasioned by the opinions of Nestorius, arose, she followed her mother church, and embraced the doctrines of the Monophysites ; or, in other words, the sentiments of those early Christians of the East, who maintained that the two natures of Christ, the human and divine, were absorbed into one.\*

\* “The peculiar dogma of this heresy—for such it has been called, with what justice I do not pretend to determine—is that of acknowledging one nature in Christ, in opposition to the Nestorians, who hold two. On examining some of the best writers, however, on both sides, it will be found very difficult to discover in what they really do differ. I cannot but think with Ludolf and La Croze, that the disputes which have so long divided the Eastern Church on this mysterious point, amount to nothing more than a battle about words ; which might, long ago, have been merged in the more important and more intelligible point of Christian charity, had not interested views and angry passions determined otherwise.

“It is certain that both Monophysites and Nestorians hold the divinity of our Lord ; their disputes respect only the mode of His incarnation. So long as the Church of Alexandria remained at unity with itself and with the Greek Church, that of Abyssinia may be said to have held the same doctrines and customs ; but in the time of the Emperor Marcion, upon the disagreement of the bishops respecting the doctrine of the incarnation, the Council of Chalcedon, which is called the Fourth General Council, was assembled ; and, in it, the dogmas of Eutyches and Dioscorus, the advocates for the Monophysite belief, were condemned. Those who embraced the orthodox faith were, out of contempt, called Melchites, *i. e.* Royalists ; because they followed the faith of the emperor. The other party, also, out of contempt, received the title of Eutychians, Jacobites, &c.

“On the rise of this lamentable dissension, the reasons of which were but ill understood, and much worse explained, those nations that had been subject to the Patriarchate of Alexandria, placed themselves

During the seventh century, when the Mohammedans of Arabia, spurred on by their religious enthusiasm, made an irruption into Egypt, and nearly crushed the church then existing in that country, the strong ties which had hitherto bound together the Eastern and Western churches were almost entirely sundered ; and the Abyssinian church, suddenly becoming obscured, retired for several ages from the page of history. But ere she passed behind the cloud, she encountered a fearful struggle with the Arabians, a circumstance which evinced the reality of her vital energies. The Arabians were a crafty foe ; skilful in device, and unscrupulous as to means, they employed alike stratagem and force to induce her to submit to their sway, and to adopt the new religion. But, steadfast in her religious principles, the Abyssinian church remained unshaken as a rock amid the dashing billows. Covering her with his shield, God preserved her from the galling yoke of Mohammedan tyranny, and permitted her to keep feebly burning the flame of Christian faith which she had received as a rich inheritance from her fathers.

It was not till near the commencement of the sixteenth century, that the Abyssinian church, which, in Europe, had sunk into almost total forgetfulness, amidst the darkness that gloomily lowered over the moral and intellectual

under different heads, as the nature of their belief required. The Melchites ranged themselves under the Patriarch of Constantinople ; while the Monophysites adhered still to the chair of St. Mark in Alexandria ; and as the Abyssinians continued to receive their Abunas from Egypt, they, of course, became disciples of the Alexandrian faith."

PROF. LEE.



world during the middle ages, again emerged from obscurity, and glimmered above the horizon. Certain travelers, whom John II. of Portugal had sent out to Africa, for the purpose of exploring unknown countries, heard, for the first time of a Christian church, planted at an early period among the mountains of Abyssinia, which had bravely resisted the victorious arms of the Saracens. The happy news was speedily brought back to the court. The king, overjoyed at the discovery, determined, if possible, to ascertain more definitely the actual state of this newly-discovered people; and dispatched an embassy to Abyssinia for that purpose. After numerous abortive efforts, one Pedro Cavilham, at length in 1490, succeeded in penetrating the valleys of that remarkable country; and on his return, unfolded to the astonished monarch, the treasures of his industrious research. His appearance in Abyssinia awakened a lively interest, and the emperor Alexander, who was particularly pleased with the mission of the stranger, had already resolved to send deputies to the court of Portugal, when death, that subtle terminator of all sublunary schemes, intervened, and put an end to the project.

Lebna Dangel ascended the throne as his successor, and governed Ethiopia under the guardianship of his mother, the empress Helena. Hearing of the extensive conquests which the Portuguese were then making on the coast of India, he thought it for the benefit of his kingdom, to enter into some terms of agreement with the court of Lisbon. Emmanuel, who then wore the crown of Portugal, believing that an alliance with Abyssinia might prove a source of advantage to himself, gave a listening ear to his proposals. A

compact was accordingly agreed upon in 1509; and at the request of the empress Helena, who seems to have been desirous of improving the condition of her subjects, the king sent into Abyssinia several learned men, as well as artists and tradesmen, who established themselves in the country. A channel of friendly communication was now opened; and it resulted in a series of embassies, which were dispatched from time to time from the respective powers. The most remarkable was that of the Ethiopian, Zaga-zaba, who arrived at Lisbon in 1527. He was empowered by the court of Abyssinia to sign a confession of faith, such as, in his judgment, would promote the interests, both temporal and spiritual, of the two kingdoms. But after examining, in detail, the fundamental principles and usages of the Roman hierarchy, he had some scruples in regard to the propriety of subscribing his name to such an instrument in behalf of the Abyssinian church. But woe to him for listening to the voice of conscience! It fired a train which eventually exploded in his inhuman massacre!

During the absence of Zaga-zaba, the fierce tribes of Mohammedan Gallas, who were settled on the confines of the country, arose in arms, and made an irruption into the Abyssinian territory. They were influenced to this step by learning the empress' intention of negotiating an alliance with the monarch of Portugal. The Mohammedan prince, Mahomet Gagné, after having been reinforced by succors furnished by the king of Adel, went forth to battle. Victory decided in his favor. He put to rout the Ethiopian army, and ravaged several provinces. The emperor was forced to fly to the recesses of the mountains, while his

triumphant foe was devastating his country, and slaughtering his subjects.

At this fearful crisis of his affairs, the emperor dispatched one Bermudes, a Portuguese, belonging to his train, to the courts of Rome and Lisbon, to solicit aid. Previous, however, to his leaving the country, the *Abuna* nominated him to the office of bishop, and designated him as a suitable person to succeed him in the patriarchal chair. Bermudes arrived at Rome in 1538, and was kindly received by the pope, who consecrated him patriarch of Ethiopia, and sent him to the king of Portugal, accompanied with his respectful commendations. But although the king clearly foresaw that an alliance with the emperor of Ethiopia would greatly facilitate his ambitious designs of spreading the flame of conquest, and thus an alliance promising the most desirable consequences to himself, he could not readily persuade himself to take part in the war which that prince was then carrying on against the Gallas. He did not, however, entirely quench the hopes of the envoy, but while he temporized, flattered him with the prospect of sending him aid from his Asiatic dominions. Bermudes believed the delusion, and with the expectation of obtaining a few hundred soldiers at Goa, he immediately proceeded to Asia, where he arrived in 1539. But he was destined to experience the bitter disappointment of seeing his cherished anticipations suddenly blasted. The king of Portugal proved himself treacherous; not having commanded his troops at Goa to embark for Abyssinia, according to the encouragement held out to Bermudes while at his court.

While these events were transpiring, Dangal, the Ethio-

pian emperor, died, and his son Claudius ascended the throne. But it seems that the embassy of Bermudes to Lisbon was not entirely unsuccessful ; for a short time after his landing at Goa, the report was heard, and quickly spread to the imperial court, that a Portuguese fleet was seen cruising upon the Red Sea, and that she had been sent to check the progress of the Mohammedan Gallas, who were making almost daily encroachments on the territorial limits of Abyssinia.

Two deputies were forthwith dispatched to the admiral, entreating him to accelerate his course. They found the fleet moored in the port of Massowah, and, at their request, a body of four hundred soldiers under the command of Christopher de Gama, son of the celebrated Vasco de Gama, was ordered to march to the assistance of the emperor. Accordingly, in the month of July, 1541, de Gama disembarked his troops at Arteeko, with the intention of joining the Ethiopian troops, if possible, before the Galla prince, Gragné, should attack them. But de Gama never reached the point of rendezvous. He lost his life in a skirmish with the Gallas ; and his little band of valiant warriors were almost entirely destroyed. A few, however, headed by Bermudes, succeeded in making their escape, and afterwards joined the Ethiopian army. Soon after, the united forces met the Gallas in battle ; they rushed upon their ranks, and perpetrated a fearful slaughter, carrying everywhere before them defeat and death. The prince, Gragné, was slain ; the war was terminated, and the emperor of Abyssinia was quietly re-established on his throne.

Urged on by Bermudes, the victorious Portuguese were



not slow in making the most extravagant claims for the services they had rendered the Ethiopians in the recent struggle, so happily terminated by their instrumentality. They demanded nothing less than the conversion of the emperor, and that of his subjects, to the doctrines of the Romish church, together with the surrender of one third of his dominions to their undisturbed possession. Claudius boldly rejected their ridiculous pretensions. They, in turn, haughtily threatened him with excommunication—that fearful weapon to the Romanist; but this did not at all disconcert or terrify the emperor. He openly declared that the patriarch, Bermudes, had no legitimate authority in the country, and that he regarded the pope himself as a heretic. He went farther. To evince his firm attachment to the ancient church of Ethiopia, he sent deputies to Alexandria, earnestly soliciting an orthodox Abuna. Meantime he cast Bermudes into prison, where he was compelled to remain till he found means of secretly escaping, and took sanctuary on the shores of the Red Sea, in the province of Tigre.

While these events were transpiring in the East, Ignatius Loyola was busy in founding the order of the Jesuits; and, when informed of the unhappy issue which affairs had taken in Ethiopia, made the proposal to the pope to undertake in person the difficult enterprise of effecting a reunion between the Abyssinian and Romish churches. But the pope, who was wishing to reserve him for a more important sphere of operation, declined the offer. He commissioned, however, thirteen missionaries, selected from the newly-organized society of Jesuits, to commence, in his stead, the work of conversion. One of the number, named Nunes Baretto, a

Portuguese, was elevated, previous to his departure, to the dignity of patriarch of the country; and two others, Andrew Oviedo, and Melchior Carneiro, were nominated to the office of bishop. These three personages, accompanied in their arduous enterprise by ten fellow-laborers, were to proceed, first to Goa, and there remain, earnestly preparing themselves for the duties of their future destination, while three of their number, Oprestes, Rodríguez, and Freyère, should go before, and, if possible, open a way for their admission into the Abyssinian territory. These pioneers of the mission arrived at the imperial court in 1555. Their appearance was not at all agreeable to the reigning monarch; especially when apprized that there were several more of their countrymen then residing at Goa, and only waiting a more favorable opportunity for entering his dominions. They, however, commenced working their engines, but to little effect. All the sophistry, as well as arguments, that Rodríguez could devise to convince his royal highness that the pope was the vicegerent of Christ on earth, and that there was no salvation out of the pale of the Romish church, did not at all narrow the distance between the emperor and the missionaries, nor in the least shake him from his position, that an assembly of the church should take into consideration, and decide upon these and similar questions; and that, while here on earth, a scene, as it is, of darkness and delusion, no individual priest had authority to make alterations in the church. He also assured Rodríguez, that it was in vain for him to expect that the people of Ethiopia were bound to the religion of their fathers, by ties which could be so easily or summarily severed. He then dismissed

him and his associates, and started on a journey to visit a distant province.

The Jesuit missionary, finding himself completely foiled in his efforts, and scarcely knowing what to do, took lodgings at the house of a wealthy Portuguese, and wrote a short treatise on the Christian religion. This, with considerable difficulty, he translated into the Ethiopian language, and presented it to his imperial majesty on his return from his provincial tour. But this expedient succeeded no better than those he had previously tried ; on the contrary, it seemed to increase the estrangement, and deepen the aversion, which the monarch already felt to the newly-arrived envoys.

Rodriguez, perceiving that his labors in the service of the mission at the imperial court were now brought to a close, returned to the sea-coast, with the view of finding the residue, and taking counsel of Bermudes, who had always regarded himself as the legal patriarch of Ethiopia. On consultation, they concluded to return to Goa, and suspend all further operations, till, in the revolution of affairs, an opportunity should occur, more favorable to their designs ; and which would warrant their return into the country with a reinforcement of Jesuit missionaries. On their arrival in Asia, they consulted their brethren there, and it was decided that Bishop Oviedo, accompanied by a few of their number, should immediately set sail for Abyssinia, and that the patriarch, with the rest of their fellow-laborers, should follow whenever information was received that affairs had assumed a position that promised success to their projects of religious conquest. Oviedo accordingly embarked ; and,

wafted by favoring breezes, soon reached the shores of Ethiopia, and anchored in the harbor of Déborowah. He here met with the Baharnagash, or chief of that section of the country, who had uniformly manifested a friendly disposition to the Catholic missionaries, and, as he was at that moment on the eve of proceeding to the court of the emperor, offered to conduct hither his friend Oviedo. The bishop was soon favored with an opportunity of presenting himself to Claudius, and of showing him the letters of recommendation which he had brought from the pope, and the king of Portugal. But as the recollection of the conduct of Bermudes, and of the Portuguese troops, was still rankling in the monarch's bosom, Oviedo was forced to feel the mortification of seeing his commendatory epistles treated with disdain, and himself dismissed with impatience. At a second interview with the emperor, he assumed a loftier tone. He presented himself before him with a boldness and a decision of manner, altogether unbecoming either his condition or errand, demanding of him whether he would or would not, unconditionally, submit to the authority of the pope; and at the same time affirming that without such submission, there could be no salvation either for himself or his people. The emperor replied with great equanimity and mildness, that the Abyssinian church, from its earliest existence, had been closely united with that of Alexandria, and that he knew, at present, of no reason sufficiently powerful to influence either himself or his subjects to break those bonds which had grown and strengthened through so many ages. The bishop, however, was not to be so easily dissuaded from his purpose; he resolutely persisted in again putting what



he deemed the only alternative. But the prince, not thinking it best to prolong the interview, dismissed him from his presence, assuring him that the business should be presented for consideration before the assembly of the church, and their decision communicated to him.

Oviedo, perceiving that his artillery only spent itself in vain on the independent spirit of the monarch, skilfully changed the mode of attack, and assumed the more conciliatory tone of friendship. He addressed him a confidential letter, calling to his remembrance the request he had previously made to the pope and to the king of Portugal, to send learned men into his kingdom; and reminded him of the recognition he had once made of the claims of Bermudes to the dignity and authority of the patriarch. At the same time he besought him to be cautious of the influence of the empress, his mother; and to fortify himself against the prejudices or machinations of his courtiers. He also insidiously impressed on his mind the important truth, that with relation to the subject-matter of our faith, it often becomes our duty to encounter the ill will of our beloved parents, even to sever the tenderest of earthly ties, for the sake of Christ. But this stratagem turned out as every reasonable man would have expected. Such artifices, however ingeniously contrived, could have had but little influence in blinding a man of the shrewdness and intelligence of Claudius, whose knowledge of the Scriptures is said to have been far more profound than even that of the Jesuit missionary himself; and the sequel proved that they had no other influence on the mind of the emperor, than to alienate him still more effectually from the bishop and his cause. Oviedo

saw this, but not the least daunted, boldly persevered in his enterprise. He seemed resolved to lift at the wheel so long as a ray of hope remained ; and he fearlessly challenged all the *literati* of Abyssinia to confront him in the field of logical combat in regard to the subjects of dispute existing between them. The challenge was accepted ; but the emperor, fearing that the monks who were designated to advocate the cause of the Abyssinian church, would become embarrassed by the subtleties and refinements of the Italian Jesuit, came forward, and replied in person to the bishop ; and, if we may credit the Jesuit historians themselves, he completely triumphed over his antagonist by his profound knowledge and clear expositions of Scripture.

But this indefatigable and zealous missionary by no means relished the idea of being thus summarily foiled in his undertaking. He whet up his spirits to a keener edge ; and, resolving to scatter the seeds of truth, and thus gradually leaven the Abyssinian mind by less ostensible measures, he published a few tracts on the principal subjects of the controversy. In his first publication he violently attacked the errors of the Abyssinian church, and confidently presented a copy to the examination of the emperor himself, desiring him to weigh its arguments with seriousness and candor. But this, like all his previous efforts, vanished in a transient blaze. The prince, after having carefully perused the work, sat down, and with his own hand wrote a refutation of every article it contained. The bishop was utterly confounded ; but chagrined and irritated as he was by seeing all the efforts he had hitherto made, and the expedients hitherto tried, to subjugate the Abyssinian church

to the authority of the Roman see, thus entirely baffled, was in no mood to strike his colors. He resolved to make a last desperate effort, which he seemed to think must decide the controversy in his favor. Accordingly, on the fifteenth day of February, 1559, he issued a decree of excommunication against the whole Abyssinian church. But its effect was directly the reverse of what he intended; it not only served to unveil the tyrannical spirit of popery, and to bring to light the abominable errors lurking in its bosom; it also tended to rivet closer to the established religion of his country, the affections of a monarch who was shrewd enough to detect the gleamings of hypocrisy, though concealed by a gilded mask; and who declared, as reported by a historian of the times, that the more he knew of the spirit and manœuvring of the Romish church, the more despicable the institution appeared.

But while Claudius was congratulating himself on the victory which he had finally gained over the bishop, a storm of another kind was darkly gathering over his head, and flashing its angry glances on his kingdom. Nur, the son of the king of Adel, the ancient enemy of Ethiopia, watching with an eagle's eye the frontiers of the emperor's dominions, and seeing them entirely unprotected, threw a powerful army into the country, and spread far and wide the fires of war. The emperor saw his danger, and went out to meet the invading foe with a small army of undisciplined soldiers. But the scale turned against him; he made but a feeble resistance to the furious attacks of his adversary; his troops were routed, and himself left a mangled corpse on the field of battle. Thus closed the career of a prince, whom, in un-

affected piety and religious zeal, in the culture of his intellectual capacities, in the moderation and wisdom of his measures, few of his ancestors ever equaled, none excelled. Had a beneficent Providence seen fit to have prolonged his life, he might have been employed as "some kind angel guard" in staying those torrents of blood, which, from that time forth, continued to crimson the valleys of Abyssinia. But Infinite Wisdom ordained otherwise; and as Claudius died without descendants, his brother Adam, a proud and vindictive-prince, succeeded to the throne. He resolved forthwith to avenge himself on the Catholics who were living on their own estates, and to whose agency his jealous disposition easily led him to conclude were to be attributed the evils which had smitten both his brother and his country. Influenced by such motives, he took from the Portuguese the lands ceded to them by his brother, as grants for the services they had rendered him in war; and threatened the bishop with instant death, if he continued longer to delude his subjects by preaching the errors of the Catholic church.

It is a matter of uncertainty, whether Nur, the chieftain of Adel, was actually instigated by the Jesuits thus to stain with blood the territory of his neighbor; though there are other circumstances connected with the invasion, which are less equivocal. It is very evident that the emperor had some reason for adopting severe measures against the encroachments of the Portuguese; that the king of the coast, who had always been the zealous friend of the Jesuits, had joined the irruption against him; and that in order to advance more rapidly the work of conversion in the country;



he had sent to the Portuguese colonies in Asia, and obtained from thence a supply of soldiers. These measures touched to the quick the irritable soul of the emperor; he took the field against him, and dispersed his army. The king of the coast took sanctuary among the Mohammedans, and, by promising them fresh recruits from Portugal, he succeeded in gaining them over to his cause, and persuaded them to march against the emperor. The latter, true to his trust, boldly met the invading foe, and fell a victim to their savage fury in the first encounter. The Jesuit missionaries, whom Adam had taken prisoners, would have inevitably shared his fate, had not their friend, the king of the coast, arrived at the decisive moment to avert the danger.

The son of Adam, Malac Saged, now ascended the throne of Abyssinia; and though he might not openly have evinced his hostility to the opinions of the Jesuits, who had now retired from the heart of the kingdom, and taken up their residence at Fremona, it is evident that he had inherited from his father and uncle all their abhorrence, both of the conduct and principles of the missionaries. But no prospect of opposition could dampen the zeal of the Fathers. They had taken fast hold of their object; the fire of their hopes burnt high; and they pertinaciously clung to their original purpose of taking possession of Abyssinia, and of domineering over the Abyssinian church, notwithstanding it had so often, like a wizard phantom, eluded their grasp. They, consequently, were not at all disposed to remain inactive in their retirement at Fremona. They sent deputies to the viceroy of Goa, earnestly soliciting a fresh supply of troops from Portugal, with which they flattered them-

selves they should soon be able to reduce Ethiopia to subjection, and accomplish the conversion of the church. But this enterprise did not meet the political views of the viceroy of India, and instead of complying with the request of the fathers, he urged the Portuguese monarch to employ his influence to persuade the pope to recall the Jesuit missionaries from the territories of Abyssinia. Accordingly, in 1560, Oviedo was officially withdrawn from the country, and ordered to repair to Japan, where it was thought his efforts in the service of the "mother of harlots" would meet with greater encouragement. This measure, however, was not at all congenial to the feelings, nor consonant to the ambitious views, or far-reaching schemes of the aspiring prelate; and he was by no means disposed to submit to a removal without a struggle. He wrote to the pope in an unassuming and conciliatory manner, premising that he was ever ready to comply with his wishes, and obey his mandates; still, at the present juncture he could not avoid indulging the expectation, that if allowed the assistance of six hundred Portuguese troops, he might soon be able to subject the Abyssinian church to the apostolic throne. He was also careful to introduce every circumstance that could interest the feelings of his Holiness; and artfully mentioned the fact, that most of the provinces of the country abounded in extensive mines, yielding gold in great profusion, and of an excellent quality. But all availed nothing. The pope had no desire to be drawn into the plans of the bishop, and consequently, notwithstanding his remonstrances, vessels arrived on the coast of Africa, with orders from the Roman pontiff to transport the Abyssinian Fathers to Goa.

Thus terminated the first Jesuit mission to Ethiopia—a mission disgraced by arrogance and intrigue; and which, in consideration of the evils it occasioned, and the atrocity of the measures with which it was carried on, can only be compared with the second, which was undertaken about forty years later, by the same Jesuits, with the same objects in view, and with the adoption of the same means to effect its accomplishment.

The ill success attendant on this first effort, seemed to chill the ardor of the Jesuits; and for a considerable time they remained inactive, having apparently renounced all expectation of ever reducing the Abyssinian church to the dominion of the pope. But when Philip II. ascended the throne of Portugal, the subject was again revived; and it was determined that two of the Fathers, Antonio de Montserado and Peter Paez, both members of the society of Jesuits, should be sent into Abyssinia, disguised in the dress of Armenian merchants. They set sail from Goa in 1588; but a storm overtook them, drove them upon the coast of Arabia, and wrecked their vessel. They escaped; but their true character as Romish priests being soon detected, they were thrown into prison, where they were doomed to groan away seven years in tedious confinement.

When the report of this catastrophe reached Goa, at that time the general head-quarters of missions in India, two other ecclesiastics, Abraham de Georgys, a Maronite Jesuit, and a young Abyssinian, were set apart for this service, and immediately dispatched to Ethiopia. They disembarked, clothed in Turkish costume, at the island of Massowah, on the coast of Abyssinia; but the governor, discovering that

Georgys was a Romish priest, gave him the alternative, that as he had been found in the garb of a Mohammedan, either openly to confess himself one, or submit to the ignominy of losing his life by decapitation. He heroically chose the latter, and was forthwith beheaded. John Baptist, an Italian, was soon after consecrated bishop of the mission, and sent into Ethiopia; but he never reached his destined field of labor; he was detected by the Turks in the isle of Comera, and shared the tragical end of Father Georgys.

Don Alexis de Menezes, then archbishop of Goa, had already succeeded in pushing his religious conquests along the whole coast of Malabar. A blot, however, of the deepest dye must forever rest upon his victories. As he passed through the land in his might, it was often doomed to blush with the blood of the slain, and the air to glow with the flames of devoted villages. The news of the repeated failures experienced by the mission in Abyssinia, struck an answering chord in his bosom, and suggested the idea that he also must engage in the work of weakening the foundations of the Abyssinian church, and annexing it to the dominions of the Papal See. Full of this idea, he prevailed upon Belchior Sylva, a converted Brahmin, to undertake a Christian mission to this country. The proposal met the views of Sylva; he accepted the invitation, and after a prosperous sail, landed safely on the coast of Abyssinia. As soon as Menezes was apprized of his arrival, he wrote to the Abuna, urging him to submit without delay to the authority of the pope; enforcing his request with the alleged example of his spiritual guide and father, the Patriarch of Alexandria, who, as he averred, had already bowed to the



authority of the Roman pontiff; and that the letter might make all the impression intended, he accompanied it with magnificent presents, as well as liberal promises in regard to the future, if he would only yield to the demands of duty. Menezes at the same time dispatched another letter to the pope, entreating him to exert his influence with the Patriarch of Alexandria, and, if possible, induce him to effect the submission of the Abuna of Ethiopia. But unfortunately for the plans of the archbishop, the patriarch had never acknowledged the supremacy of the Holy Father, and consequently, all this ingeniously framed scheme fell, like a tinsel fabric, to the ground.

The great zeal evinced by Menezes for the conversion of the Abyssinians, gave a new impulse to the activity of the Jesuits, and they embarked once more in an enterprise which had already occasioned them so much vexation, and such signal disgrace. They succeeded in obtaining from the king of Portugal, a few transports to convey a band of missionaries to Ethiopia, with whom Peter Paez, who had just been redeemed from his imprisonment, was connected. The latter reached Abyssinia in the summer of 1603, and immediately made known his arrival to the Emperor Jacob, as well as his desire of holding with him a religious conference. But while he was waiting an answer to his message, the flames of revolution burst out; Jacob was hurled from his throne, and Za'Dangel crowned in his room. Paez took advantage of the civil commotions to prepare a few treatises on the Christian religion, which he translated into the language of Ethiopia. Za Dangel was a weak and timid prince; the strengthening of his throne, upon which an un-



expected fortune had placed him, and the suppression of the party of Jacob, were the principal objects which engrossed his attention. When, therefore, he was informed of the arrival of Paez, he hesitated not to invite the foreign priest to his court; probably indulging the hope of being able, through his intervention, of obtaining assistance from Portugal, and establishing the throne he had usurped. The crafty Father, watching the state of the country, and regarding the present juncture as favorable to the consummation of his ambitious designs, gladly took upon himself the duty of presenting to the court of Portugal the wishes of Za Dangel. As he saw his path all marked out before him, in order to be free as possible in the part he was about to play, he commenced by sending back to India his coadjutor Sylva, the Brahmin convert.

But Father Paez had scarcely arrived at the court, when he perceived, by the darkening aspect of the political horizon, that a storm was about to burst upon the country; and the probability was, that the usurper would not long be able to maintain his seat on the throne. He framed, therefore, a pretext for retiring; and not two months had elapsed, when a revolution broke out which tore the crown from the head of Za Dangel, and terminated his mortal career. The chief of the insurgents, Athanateus, presently invited Paez to his camp; a favor which he was not slow to accept. Perceiving, however, that the smoke and dust of contention were not yet allayed among the rebels, and that they were by no means agreed upon the succession to the throne, he thought it prudent to withdraw to Fremona; a conclusion that was confirmed by learning that a number of his fellow-

laborers had just arrived at that station. The parties continued the struggle, victory vacillating, sometimes in favor of one, and sometimes of the other, till at length, the dethroned monarch, Jacob, resumed the diadem. But as one Susneus, a descendant of David, was making some pretensions to the throne, and taking advantage of the turbulence of the times, was actively engaged in devising means to vindicate the justice of his claims, the emperor's authority was extremely precarious. In the mean time, as they were almost daily expecting the arrival of troops from Portugal, which, it was believed, would at once put an end to the existing difficulties, the Jesuit missionary thought it expedient to proceed directly to the court of Jacob, and there await the issue of the conflict. But the pretender, Susneus, soon collected a considerable force, and boldly raised the standard of revolt. Jacob hastily put his army in motion, and met the enemy; but the God of battles decided against him; he was slain on the field of combat, and Susneus ascended the imperial throne under the name of Sultan Saged.

The Jesuits lost no time in presenting themselves before the Emperor Susneus; and as their coadjutor, Paez, had espoused the cause, and involved himself in the party of Jacob, they thought it prudent for him to retire from the stage of public action, till the heat of the moment and the flush of victory should have passed away. They therefore selected two of the Fathers, Lawrence Romano, and Anthony Fernandez, to perform the duties of his station. Their anxiety, however, owing to the course pursued by Paez, was of short duration. On their arrival at court, they were received with great civility and kindness, and enjoyed several

interviews with the newly-crowned monarch. One of his first inquiries was for Father Paez, of whom he had heard, and whom he was anxious to see. Paez, learning the favorable disposition of the emperor, appeared at the imperial court; and as he was received with open arms, seized the first opportunity to lay before him the immense advantage that would accrue both to himself and kingdom, from an alliance with Rome and Portugal—an alliance, he affirmed, which alone could ensure the continuance and stability of his rising power.

Influenced by the suggestions of the Jesuit missionary, Susneus sent letters to the pope, and to the king of Portugal, praying them to order, without delay, a military force to Abyssinia. At the same time, the Jesuits were constantly on the alert, distilling, on every possible occasion, their peculiar tenets into the mind of the emperor, and urging the necessity of embracing, at once, the Catholic religion; a step that Paez at length persuaded him to take, by pointing out the striking similarity, which, as he pretended, subsisted between the creeds of the two churches. The *Ras*, Cella Christos, brother of the emperor, was also induced to espouse their cause, and enlist with zeal in their service. After signal success, they thought proper to send a deputation to the court of Portugal, which soon returned without effecting anything of importance. Meanwhile, the Jesuits spared neither vigilance nor toil in their exertions to secure possession of the Abyssinian church, and among other expedients, maintained public discussions on the doctrines of the Gospel with the priests of the country. Their unwearied labors were soon apparently crowned with suc-

cess. The emperor issued an edict, prohibiting the bestowment of offices or places of emolument on any of the clergy, excepting those who were disposed to adopt the confession of faith promulgated by the Romish church. He even denounced the severest punishments upon all who should persist in maintaining that there was only one nature in the person of Jesus Christ.

As soon as the Abuna of Ethiopia was apprized of these transactions, alarmed for the safety of his church, he flew to the coast, and threatened Susneus with instant excommunication, because, without either his knowledge or consent, he had authorized public disputations with the priests. The emperor excused himself by saying he had done it with the best intentions; that by adopting the measure, he had hoped to quench the flames of discord, and thus prevent a separation in the church. At the same time, in consequence of the dissatisfaction of the Abuna, he expressed a desire of witnessing a renewal of the discussion with the Romish priests concerning the much-disputed question, whether there were two natures in the person of Christ, as is taught by the Catholic church, or only one, according to the dogma of the Abyssinian creed. With this answer the Abuna was satisfied, the subject was again debated in a public assembly, where the Abuna and his clergy had the mortification of being defeated by the subtle dialectics of the wily missionaries.

The Jesuits seemed now to think that victory had actually lighted on their banner; and hastening to strike the decisive blow, pressed the emperor to thunder forth a second decree, threatening immediate death to all who should deny



the doctrine of two distinct natures in the person of Christ. But the Abuna, who knew himself supported by the mass of the people, as well as by a great part of the court itself undaunted by the menacing aspect of affairs, boldly resisted this encroachment on his authority, and excommunicated those who ventured to embrace the doctrines of the strangers. This conduct seemed, for a time, to embarrass the movements of the emperor, but the encouraging solicitations of Father Paez at length aroused and fortified his sinking resolution; and instead of being disconcerted by the anathemas of his church, he issued a decree, commanding his subjects to adopt the principles and perform the rites of the Catholic church. This daring measure moved the Abuna to a still more decisive step. He summoned all the clergy of the country, as well as the people of every grade and condition, to awake to their danger, and take up arms in defence of the religion of their fathers. This spirited summons produced a tremendous movement in the public mind. Elias, son-in-law of the monarch, and viceroy of Tigre, instantly put himself at the head of the disaffected, and made hasty preparations to drive the new clergy from their quarters at Fremona. As soon as the emperor's friends saw this portentous appearance of affairs, they roused themselves to avert the storm which was pending over them, resolved, if possible, to persuade their master to desist from an enterprise which threatened imminent destruction alike to himself and his dominions. But he obstinately refused to listen to their urgent remonstrances, and arrogantly declared he would continue to defend the principles of the Catholics, while a drop of blood should circulate through his veins.

Meanwhile, the summons of the Abuna for the defence of their faith, found an echo in the hearts of the people; and the emperor, not thinking it for his interest to break with him entirely, invited him to visit his court, and hold a personal conference with the missionary Paez. The Abuna and the Jesuit accordingly appeared before the emperor; the former attended by his clergy, the latter by his associates in labor. A debate ensued upon the peculiar dogmas of their respective creeds, after which they separated; and, as is usually the case, decidedly more irritated and disgusted with each other than before. But the Abuna, being too much devoted to his church to suffer her to sink while a single resource remained unemployed, resolved to hazard one more expedient to bring back the emperor to more rational ideas. He ventured again into his presence, threw himself with the inferior clergy at his feet, beseeching him to resist the treacherous insinuations of the Jesuits, and no longer persist in lacerating the wound already rankling in the breasts of the people; on the contrary, to grant his clergy and his subjects the heaven-born privilege of adhering to the faith, and enjoying the worship of their ancestors. But the ear of the prince was sealed to the entreaties, and his heart untouched by the prostrations of his priesthood, and the Abuna left the court in profoundest grief.

No sooner was Elias informed of the resolution of Susneus to support the Jesuits and defend their doctrines, than he appealed to the people of Tigre, calling upon all who were disposed to embrace the tenets of the pretended reformers, to unite themselves at once with the army of the emperor; while those who were still attached to the worship

of their fathers, he exhorted to enlist under his standard without delay. He soon found himself at the head of a numerous army, which he instantly put in motion, and marched to the imperial camp; nobly resolved either to re-establish the ancient religion of his country, or perish in the attempt.

Simeon, the aged Abuna, whose frame was already trembling with decrepitude, and his locks scattered by the tempests of a hundred years, felt, at this fearful crisis, the fire of youth rekindling in his shriveled veins; and, inspired by the enthusiasm of the occasion, united himself with the army which had been enlisted for the defence of the faithful. As they went out to battle, he gave them his paternal benediction, assuring them that those who should fall in the ensuing conflict, would not only meet the death, but participate in the glory of martyrs. This assurance produced the impression desired by the Abuna; the troops, kindling with heroism, burned to measure themselves with the enemies of their faith. When his son-in-law appeared before the imperial camp, the emperor dispatched his daughter, the wife of the viceroy, to demand of her husband why he approached in this hostile array; instructing her at the same time to offer him pardon for his faults, provided he would instantly lay down his arms, and assume that subordination which his rank and relation to his sovereign required; and, in case he should refuse submission, she was to request a short suspension of hostilities. But Elias, fancying he saw in this proposal an acknowledgment of the emperor's weakness, as well as a disposition to temporize in order to secure an opportunity of uniting his forces

with those of his brother, the Ras Cella, refused compliance, and made immediate preparations for battle. The princess had scarcely reached the tent of her father, ere the roar of battle commenced. The soldiers of the viceroy rushed like a torrent into the camp, carrying everything before them; the brave commander, at the head of his troops, was on the point of entering the royal pavilion, when he suddenly fell, pierced by an arrow. A violent panic seized the army; some madly throwing away their weapons, fled in dismay; others stood their ground, and met their fate from the hands of the enemy. As the storm of battle raged and passed on, the aged Abuna remained deserted and alone, almost upon the identical spot where he stood during the action, being too decrepit and feeble to fly. His age and the dignity of his station screened him from the violence of the Abyssinian soldiery; but a remorseless Portuguese found him, and without pity for his infirmities, or reverence for his office, fell upon him and transfixed him with his lance.

The flame of discord might easily have been extinguished by the death of the viceroy and that of the Abuna, had not the emperor, regarding his late success as a decisive victory, issued a decree, forbidding the people longer to celebrate the Jewish Sabbath, which, from time immemorial, they had been accustomed to hallow with the same strictness and solemnity as the Lord's day. This fatal decree found its way to Joanel, governor of the province of Begemder; and the boldness of the language, together with the conviction that the emperor was intent on making constant advances in innovation, roused him to action, and determined him to throw himself in his way. The people, to whom the domi-



nation of the strangers had become excessively irksome, crowded around him from every quarter, earnestly entreating him to commence anew the struggle for the religion and liberty of their suffering country. The governor had scarcely acceded to their wishes, and laid his plans for future operation, when the neighboring Gallas, learning his intentions, voluntarily offered to lend him their support. He therefore lost no time in placing himself at the head of the disaffected part of the nation, and prepared for the conflict. The report soon spread to the imperial court; great numbers of the emperor's friends entreated him not to expose his life and crown to such imminent peril, but speedily abandon a scheme which, sooner or later, must prove his utter ruin. But Susneus was a man of too independent spirit to allow himself to be easily touched by the prayers or tears of his subjects; he consequently replied that it did not belong to them to remonstrate, but to obey; and with increased decision he renewed his manifesto, denouncing death to all who should have the hardihood to resist his measures.

The governor of Begemder then wrote to the emperor, requesting him to drive the Jesuits from Ethiopia, and acknowledge him for life the viceroy of the province over which he presided. But instead of giving him a formal answer, Susneus rallied his troops and marched against him with a powerful army. This movement was entirely unexpected to the viceroy; and being too feeble to take the field with so little warning, he threw himself, together with all his forces, into the recesses of the mountains; and as the royal army soon succeeded in cutting off his supplies, he

took refuge in the territories of the Gallas, where he was pursued, betrayed, and slain.

Peace now seemed to dawn upon Ethiopia; but it was only a transient gleam of sunshine. The malecontents had hardly laid down their arms, returned to their homes, and resumed their customary employments, when the din of war was heard from another quarter. The Damotes, a people inhabiting the borders of the Nile, and to whom the manoeuvres of the Jesuits had become too oppressive to be longer endured with patience, arose *en masse*, and boldly resolved to dethrone a monarch who had blindly submitted to the management of foreigners; and to drive from the country these disseminators of error and fomenters of discord. An army of fourteen thousand warriors was immediately raised, which was soon increased by numerous bands of monks and eremites, who mingled in their ranks. But the Ras Cella, the brother of the emperor, took the field against this powerful and motley host, and after perpetrating a dreadful slaughter, bore away the palm of victory.

The news of this success occasioned great joy at court; the Jesuit Paez regarded it as a decisive proof that a beneficent Providence was stretching the wing of his protection over the Catholic mission, and had already commenced the work of retribution on its foes. From this moment the emperor became more decided; the scruples which he had hitherto felt, relative to an open declaration in favor of the Catholic church, vanished; and he at once confessed himself to the Jesuit missionary, and desired absolution. Paez, who now felt the decrepitude of age, and the infirmities of disease, rapidly increasing upon him, wrote to his brethren

at Goa, soliciting a patriarch and twenty ecclesiastics for the service of the Ethiopian church, enforcing his request by the scriptural representation, that the harvest was great, but the laborers few. But as the Catholic church in India, at that juncture, was not in a condition to comply with the request, the order was transmitted to Rome. It there met with a cordial reception. The general of the Jesuits, Mutio Vitelesci, anxious to engage in the renovation of the Ethiopian church, proposed to undertake, in person, the completion of the work so auspiciously commenced. But the pope having other objects in view, rejected his proposal, as he had that of his predecessor, Loyola; promising, however, to send into the country Emmanuel d'Almeyda, to labor as his substitute. This indefatigable Jesuit reached Fremona in 1624, accompanied by three other priests, who, a little time after, were received at court with every demonstration of joy.

Meanwhile, the courts of Rome and Madrid decided to send a patriarch into Abyssinia. They appointed to this service Alfonzo Mendez, who, with two bishops, James Seco and John da Rocha, arrived in the country nearly at the same time, and were introduced with great pomp at the imperial court. Encouraged by this distinguished mark of favor, they forthwith opened their batteries; earnestly pressing the emperor to fix upon the eleventh of December of that year, as the day on which should take place the final subjection of the Abyssinian church to the sceptre of the Romish see. Accordingly, on the day designated, an ecclesiastical council convened at the royal palace, over which the emperor and patriarch presided; a sermon was

delivered on the text, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church;" the confession of faith, which was the same as that of Alexandria, and which had hitherto been the universal creed of the country, was solemnly abjured by Susneus and his courtiers; and excommunication was denounced against all who should have the temerity to violate this oath of abjuration. The zealous monarch, however, did not rest here; he immediately issued two proclamations: the one forbidding the priests to perform their ecclesiastical functions previous to their being legally qualified by the patriarch recently installed in office by the command of the pope; the other enjoining upon his subjects, without regard to distinction of rank or condition, to submit to the government of the sovereign pontiff, and to discover and bring to punishment those within the circle of their acquaintance, who should persevere in their attachment to the religion of their fathers.

The provision of an ample establishment for the new patriarch and his associates was the next point to be considered. For this purpose, a large and elegant edifice was erected on the margin of Lake Dembea, to which was annexed a liberal endowment in land. But soon finding the location selected not sufficiently extensive, they erected at Doncas another patriarchal palace, in connection with a college sufficiently spacious to accommodate sixty Ethiopian youth, who were to be elevated to the order of the priesthood, under the tuition of the patriarch. As the Jesuits, at the commencement of their enterprise, were few in number, they sent out as missionaries, into different parts of the empire, those of the Abyssinian clergy who were most in-



clined to the doctrines of the Catholic church ; and by the co-operation of these laborers, the work of subjugation was apparently making pleasing and rapid progress.

But the emperor and patriarch, zealous and determined as they were, could not long shut their eyes to the fact, that the revolution ostensibly going forward, was more in appearance than reality. Their measures met with decided opposition ; two of the missionaries, who had with some difficulty entered one of the churches in the province of Tigre, for the purpose of reading mass, were, on the following morning, found murdered in their beds. The unfortunate career and untimely fall of Elias, Joanel, and other kindred spirits, did not at all dampen the fires of resistance, which those daring adventurers had so heroically kindled. A son-in-law of the emperor, Tecla George, with whom crowds of malecontents had leagued themselves in secret, suddenly burst from their hiding-places, and marched against their sovereign, firmly resolved either to re-establish the religion and worship of their fathers, or to fall gloriously in the conflict. This party increased so rapidly, that the emperor felt himself compelled to put forth efforts to quell the rising waves of revolt ; and accordingly levied and sent forth an army to subdue his rebellious subjects. The two armies met in battle, the recusants were routed, and the royal troops, pursuing them with unrelenting hate, indiscriminately butchered every man, woman, and child, that fell in their way. George and his sister Adera fled from the storm, and took refuge in a cave ; but they were pursued, and, three days afterwards, were discovered and dragged before the emperor. George was condemned to be burned as a heretic ; but as hopes were

entertained that more mature reflection would lead him to repent of his treason, and come over to the Catholic party, his punishment was remitted; he being merely required to make a public request of the patriarch to be admitted to the Romish church. With this proposal he externally complied. But it was soon discovered that his professions were only worn as a garment to protect him from the tempest impending over him; and he paid the forfeiture of his duplicity by a public execution in front of the royal palace, and in the presence of the whole court. Fifteen days after, his sister shared the same tragical fate, and upon the same gallows, although the courtiers exerted themselves to the utmost to rescue her from the grasp of the unrelenting monarch. But Susneus was of too stern a temper to quail at the idea of cruelty, or be touched by the tones of tenderness; he held on the bloody tenor of his way, and set the climax to his tyranny by publicly declaring, that since he had been inspired with resolution to punish with death the rashness of his son-in-law, it was in vain for others, who were bound to him by ties less endearing, to indulge the expectation of pardon, should they render themselves equally reprehensible.

Such severe measures for the promotion of religion were at that time altogether new in Ethiopia, where they had been recently introduced by the Jesuits. Even Anthony himself, who aided in this fearful commencement of religious conversion, filled with admiration in view of them, has remarked; "He, who shall hereafter read with attention the history of Ethiopia, will not fail to observe the intensity of devotion to the principles of Christianity, at that time

manifested in the country ; and that it can be considered as nothing less than miraculous, that the emperor should be stirred up to such a height of zeal, as to take, in defence of religion, the life of an endeared kinsman !” What a picture of infatuation ! What a lamentable and heart-sickening perversion of every just idea of religion and morality ! and how unlike the pure example of meekness and love left us by Him who, in poverty and sorrow, trod the hills and deserts of Judea, wearily wandering from place to place, with the single object of doing good ; and whose eyes were suffused with tears as he surveyed the devoted city, whose inhabitants were fast hastening to their doom, driven on by the love of their iniquities.

For a long time, God, in his wrath, had seemingly turned away his favoring regards from the land he once loved, and Ethiopia was left to wither beneath his frown. But the time was approaching, when his powerful arm was to turn back the storm of war, and, like the brooding spirit of creation, hush to rest the conflicting elements. The groans and tears of so many wretched beings, driven to the dens and caves of the mountains, which nature, more kind than their fellow-men, had ungrudgingly hollowed out to shield them from the shafts of that blighting fanaticism and persecution which was so powerfully armed against them, rose to the ears of Him in whose cause they bled, whose benevolent heart could not remain insensible in view of so much suffering, especially of those excruciating tortures experienced by such as were doomed to the executioner’s stroke. Dazzled with the success hitherto attendant on their measures, the patriarch and his associates suffered themselves to be drawn

into a political intrigue, which resulted in driving them from this bleeding country. In concert with the Ras Cella, they plotted a conspiracy, whose ultimate object was the dethronement of the emperor. This scheme was not long unknown to the monarch, and at once dissolved the bands of that fascinating spell, so skilfully cast around him by the artifices of the Jesuits. Another incident also occurred about the same time, which tended to defeat the plans and thwart the machinations of the crafty missionaries, and eventually to complete their downfall. This was the death of one of the most distinguished clergymen of the Abyssinian church, and who had uniformly resisted the authority of the Catholic patriarch. He had been interred in one of the churches according to the ancient usages of the country; but the bigoted zeal and inveterate hatred of Mendez, had robbed him of every feeling of humanity; he ignominiously ordered the putrefying remains of the priest to be disinterred, and left upon the surface of the ground to be devoured by beasts of prey. This barbarous outrage kindled the indignation of the Abyssinians to a glowing heat: they could no longer endure the supremacy of men from whose lips flowed the kind language of the cross, while their hearts were corroding with every vice; who could not only persecute the living with relentless malice, but refuse to the dead that tranquil repose, which even Pagans and Mohammedans dare not disturb.

In 1629, the flames of civil war again burst forth. The Aga of Begemder took up arms in defence of the religion of his country, and after having driven the viceroy Za Mariam from the province, sent a deputation to Merca Christos,



a son of the former emperor, and who, in consequence of religious persecution, had fled for refuge to the Gallas, offering him the imperial crown if he would unite with him in restoring the faith of his fathers. The prince readily complied, and raised the standard of revolt. The peasantry from every quarter, especially from the province of Lasta, a province which furnishes the most courageous and efficient soldiers in the country, flocked to his standard. The emperor saw his danger, and to crush as soon as possible this growing confederacy, resolved to enlist in Gojam an army of 25,000 men, and resolutely to attack the insurgents in their strongest holds. But his day of brightness was fast drawing to a close. His troops were severely repulsed; he lost the greater part of his officers, and nearly seven hundred soldiers. Thus was it reserved for the peasantry of the nation, who had been galled and irritated by repeated acts of usurpation, to shake, and finally overthrow the supremacy of the Jesuits, which had now risen to an exorbitant height. Deputies flew to the court, imploring the deluded emperor to take seriously to heart the misfortunes of his subjects, and to banish at once from his train those evil-minded counsellors, who, for a series of years, had done little else than stir up strife, and kindle animosities among the people; and who, at length, had succeeded in plunging the entire country into the deepest misery. This appeal made considerable impression on the monarch, and he requested the patriarch to devise measures for the introduction of the new system of religion into his dominions, more mild and palatable. But this he refused to do; and soon after the emperor received letters from the pope, stimulating him to

greater exertion, and urging him to struggle manfully with his rebellious subjects, who still persisted in their opposition to his commands; and, as if resolved to leave no expedient untried, he closed his epistle by authorizing him to offer his people, in the name of the sovereign pontiff, a full absolution of their sins. But this extraordinary offer struck the unsophisticated people of Abyssinia with utter astonishment; they thought it worthy of nothing but ridicule and contempt, for they could not understand by what authority the pope could pardon sin.

This unhappy war continued to rage with unabated fury, trembling in the balance between alternate successes and reverses, till the emperor felt the imperious necessity, in consideration of the interest of his throne and the tranquillity of his subjects, of requesting the patriarch to negotiate a treaty between the pope and his royal highness, in which it should be stipulated that the Abyssinian church might retain their ancient liturgy, celebrate the same festival days that they formerly observed, and enjoy the privilege of hallowing not less the Jewish Sabbath than the Lord's day, in agreement with their uniform practice previous to the introduction of the Catholic faith. The Abyssinians were generally satisfied with these concessions, because, as the patriarch had shrewdly foreseen, they believed themselves authorized to extend these privileges over the whole field of their ancient ecclesiastical polity. But the peasantry of the province of Lasta, who had hitherto been most successful in the war, were not satisfied with these modifications; they claimed nothing less than the entire re-establishment of the ancient constitution of their church, and the total

expulsion of the strangers from the kingdom. This was a bold stand on the part of the insurgents, and the unyielding emperor resolved to meet it. Uniting his forces with the troops of the pagan Gallas, he took the field and hastily marched against the recusants. These warlike peasants were wrought up to the highest pitch of enthusiasm; fearless and certain of victory, they rolled down their mountain declivities like loosened rocks thundering along their path and crushing everything before them, to the number of 20,000 men, and precipitated themselves upon the plains below, bravely determined to engage with the troops of their inexorable sovereign. The two armies approached, but before they closed, they stood gazing upon each other for a time in uninterrupted silence, deep and profound as the calm preceding the shock of the earthquake. At length they rushed together; the cavalry of the Gallas commenced the attack on the strong lines of the enemy, and soon succeeded in breaking through them. The wave of battle now ran high; rank dashed against rank in fearful confusion; desperation seemed the order of the day; victory or death the only alternative. After a terrible conflict, which continued till the twilight of the evening, the parties retired, leaving nearly eight thousand valiant warriors dead on the field.

The vanquished, in a paroxysm of despair, threw themselves at the feet of the exasperated sovereign, and, mingling tears with their sighs, expressed to him their misery and grief in the following pathetic appeal: "Who," they demanded of him, "who are these whom you see this day bathed in their own blood? Are they Mohammedans or Pagans? Are there any among them who cherish the

least hostility to your interests or kingdom? No! They are not foes to your welfare; they are Christians; they are your own subjects, bound to us by the strongest ties of kindred and affection. These brave men who are now stretched lifeless at your feet, might have been, under a better administration, the bulwarks of your throne, and the terror of those very enemies with whom you are now in alliance, and beneath whose weight the blackening corpses of your ill-fated subjects lie crushed and gory. The very Pagans blush at our cruelty; they brand us with the name of murderers, who have proved apostates from the faith of our fathers. Cease, therefore, great monarch; cease, we pray you, thus obstinately to persevere in a struggle which must ultimately terminate in the demolition of your throne, and the subversion of our religion." The queen, also, at the same time, assailed the emperor with her tears, blending the pathetic tones of her voice with the groans of the wounded, and imploring him by the most touching considerations—by the love he bore his great Creator, and for the sake of coming generations, instantly to desist from these tyrannical and bloody measures, with which he was most cruelly persecuting his subjects, and thus excavating for himself and family a dishonorable tomb, over which the dark pall of execration would forever brood. "What have you gained," inquired she, "by this battle? Nothing but evil. You have drawn into the country thousands of Pagans, who detest both you and your religion; and all this merely for the purpose of introducing into Ethiopia a foreign creed, and establishing new rites of worship, with which most of your subjects are entirely unacquainted, and those who have gained the least



understanding of them, will firmly resist so long as a drop of blood courses through their veins!"

These representations made so deep an impression on the mind of the emperor, that, instead of returning to his headquarters to rejoice over his victory, he sought a place of retirement, and there poured forth his sorrows, and deplored the ruin he had just occasioned. With his imagination filled with this melancholy scene, he instantly summoned the dignitaries of the Abyssinian church, and announced his resolution of granting them the privilege of professing the principles, and resuming the worship of their fathers. No sooner had tidings of this unwelcome movement reached the ears of the patriarch, than on the 20th of January, 1632, accompanied with the whole college of Jesuit priests in the country, he hastened to the imperial court with the determination of changing, if possible, the monarch's resolution. He made an impassionate appeal to Susneus, and in concluding his harangue, in which he was pleased to grace the emperor's advisers with the bitter appellation of "serpents," he threw himself, together with his confederates, at the feet of his majesty, conjuring him either to desist from the resolution he had taken, or instantly put an end to their lives. The emperor, who had just witnessed the streams of blood which had drenched the plains of Lasta, permitted the supplicating Jesuits to arise, and then calmly, but firmly, told them that his attachment to the Catholic faith had already occasioned the destruction of great numbers of his subjects, and consequently he could no longer give his support to that system of religion. The scales now fell from the eyes of the missionaries; they saw the tempest which was speedily to

overthrow their hierarchy in the country, gloomily lowering on the horizon ; and especially were they convinced that the measures now in operation would prove disastrous to their cause, when they learned that the friends of the Abyssinian church had united their efforts to give life and firmness to the decision of the emperor. A report spread throughout the country, that the day of the festival of John the Baptist was designated by royal edict for the restoration of the ancient religion ; and at the destined hour, thousands assembled in the capital of the kingdom, to assist at the solemn ceremonial. They were, however, on this occasion disappointed ; but the event was sufficient to convince the emperor that this act of justice could not be long postponed without imminent peril. But the patriarch was so adroit in his movements to prevent its occurrence, that no other method of accomplishing the object was left to the emperor, but to cut, himself, the Gordian knot. An imperial herald was accordingly sent through the streets of the capital, proclaiming, "Hear! hear! I formerly recommended to your acceptance the Catholic faith, because I believed it to be true ; but as great numbers of my subjects have sacrificed their lives in defence of the religion of our fathers, I hereby certify that the free exercise of this religion shall be hereafter guaranteed to all. Your priests are hereby authorized to resume possession of their churches, and worship without molestation the God of their ancestors."

It is impossible, adequately to describe the demonstration of joy, evinced even by the gushing tears of gratitude, which accompanied this public declaration. Voices, echoing the praises of the emperor, floated on every breeze ; the

people threw from their houses the rosaries and chaplets of the Jesuits, and burnt them in bonfires; satisfaction and delight were expressed in every countenance, gladness sparkled in every eye.

The emperor did not long survive this extraordinary victory which he had so honorably achieved over himself; he was seized with a lingering fever, of which he died in September of the same year; and his son Basilides was called to the throne. He had scarcely secured the peaceful possession of his crown, when he was called to quell a conspiracy which the Jesuits had instigated against him. He therefore immediately despoiled these fomenters of revolt of their arms, and exiled them to Fremona. This last requisition, however, the obstinate patriarch was slow to comply with; he hesitated and lingered, until, having been waylaid by robbers, and plundered of almost every article of his effects, he was driven by want to join his brethren at Fremona, where he arrived on the 25th of April, 1633. But the spirit and energy of the banished Fathers were not yet crushed; delusive hope still glared like a meteor in their view, flattering them with being able, at some future period, to excite insurrections, and awaken tumults in the country. They found one of the disaffected chiefs, named O'Kay, who had formerly taken part in the rebellion of Tecla George. They allured him into their schemes by the promise, that if he would lend them his protection in this hour of their extremity, they would soon order Portuguese troops from Goa to sustain him.

The emperor, however, was not long kept a stranger to this daring plot, and he arose to vengeance. He issued

orders commanding the Jesuits to quit Ethiopia immediately, and retire to Massowah, where they would find a vessel in readiness to convey them from his dominions. Apparently in accordance with this injunction, the exiled strangers withdrew from Fremona ; but their friend O'Kay concealed them in the fastnesses of the mountains, where they were to await the arrival of troops from the Portuguese possessions in Asia. Basilides, however, soon heard of this treacherous movement on the part of O'Kay, and ordered him to deliver the exiled Fathers into his hands without delay. The patriarch, therefore, not finding himself entirely secure in his present situation, made his escape to the port of Massowah, and thence to Suakim, on the coast of Nubia, where he was taken by a band of robbers, and compelled to serve them as a slave.

But the patriarch could not quit the country without making one more effort to secure his object. He directed O'Kay to conceal in the mountains four Jesuits, whom he had concluded to leave, as guides and assistants to the Portuguese succors, which they were expecting soon from Goa. They were accordingly concealed ; but after lingering and watching for five years, without the least intimation that their hopes would be realized, they were by some means betrayed into the hands of the Abyssinian monarch, who condemned them as traitors to his government, and banished them into the territory of the Agaws, where they fell a sacrifice to the fury of the populace, and expiated the crime of their ambitious zeal on the gallows. Meantime, the patriarch was doomed to experience all the bitterness of captivity ; but after having endured a series of painful suf-



ferings, he was redeemed from bondage, and succeeded in making his escape to Goa, where he endeavored to revive the sinking flames of his cause, and to enlist an army for the re-conquering of Abyssinia. But all his efforts proved unavailing; he was at last compelled to abandon his undertaking as altogether desperate and vain.

Thus terminated a scheme, planned and put in operation with the view of establishing a mission in Abyssinia; a scheme which, in consideration of the subtilty and Jesuitical shrewdness employed, of the ambition and cruelty occasionally manifested in carrying it forward, is stamped with a far blacker character than any of those similar undertakings which the gloomy records of the past unfold. Great indeed must the moral degradation of the church of Rome at that time have been, if, in any age, when her power was receiving repeated checks from the growing spirit of reformation at the west, she could so far neglect her real interest, as to devote either her strength or treasures to the accomplishment of an enterprise of so little importance; which was undertaken merely for the purpose of gaining proselytes; and which, regarding the end its movers had in view, and the means by which it was sustained, evidently had its origin in the kingdom of darkness, and has left an indelible stain on the pages of ecclesiastical history.

The patriarch had no sooner left the shores of Abyssinia, than the people, following the custom of their fathers, sent to Egypt to obtain from thence a new Abuna. They succeeded in securing the object of their request, who entered the country accompanied by Peter Heyling, a German, and a Lutheran. Both were cordially received by the emperor;

but the history of the times has left us no definite account of their labors ; it barely records their deaths.

The multiplied crimes and misdemeanors of which the Jesuits were guilty during their residence in the country were fitted, in the highest degree, to stir up the animosities of the people ; and especially to enkindle in the minds of the ecclesiastics and monks, with whom the struggle was principally carried on, an inveterate hatred to all strangers who were at all disposed to introduce any very important innovations in the doctrines or worship of the church. The society, however, which was instituted at Rome for the propagation of the Gospel abroad, made two or three efforts, even during the reign of the Emperor Basilides, to procure the labors of the French Capucins in carrying forward missionary operations in Ethiopia ; desiring them to take up and pursue the thread of missions, which, some years previous, had been wrenched from the grasp of the Jesuits. But of the eight missionaries who engaged in the enterprise, and actually started on their journey to Abyssinia, only three ever succeeded in reaching the imperial court, and these were executed immediately upon their arrival ; two fell on their way by the hands of robbers, and the three others, who were somewhat later in reaching the confines of the country, were beheaded at Suakim, in Nubia, by order of the Turkish pasha.

The current of years now flowed on for nearly half a century, before the court of Rome again awoke to the subject of missions in Abyssinia. They recommenced their efforts in the opening of the eighteenth century. A French Jesuit, Charles de Brevedent, resolved, at the peril of his life, to

undertake a journey to Ethiopia, and search out the remains of the mission formerly established there. Poncet, a French physician, offered to accompany him, and they set forward together on their tour to Egypt. But the fatigues of the journey proved too much for Brevedent; he wearied out, and died by the way. Poncet resolutely pursued his tedious journey alone, and accomplished his design in reaching, by way of Nubia and Sennaar, the capital of the Ethiopian monarch. He has left behind him an interesting account of his travels, and some valuable information with reference to the state of society and manners at that time in Abyssinia, which are assigned a place in the third volume of "*Des Lettres édifiantes et curieuses sur les missions étrangères.*" It is a work of considerable merit, comprising numerous facts of the highest importance, relative to the general history of missionary efforts. A few extracts are subjoined.

"The strong aversion which the Abyssinians entertain towards Europeans, can only be compared with the intense hatred which they bear to the Mohammedans, who, in the early part of the sixteenth century, invaded their dominions, and gained a partial ascendancy over them. But the Abyssinians, to whom their supremacy was extremely galling, feeling that they could not long endure the iron yoke, resolved to apply for succor to the Portuguese, who were at that time powerful in India. These new conquerors in the East, flushed with recent success, and especially desirous that the gates of the Abyssinian territory, which was bordering upon their own, should be opened to them, readily acceded to the proposal. They entered the country, marched

against the Mohammedans, vanquished them in battle, and restored the imperial family to the throne. This signal success, attending the first efforts of the Portuguese, operated strongly in their favor, and procured for them almost unbounded influence at court. Many of them settled in the country, and obtained the highest offices in the gift of the state. Their numbers continually increasing, and their power extending, their manners grew less conciliatory, and they gradually became so proud and overweening in their behavior, that they awoke the jealousy of the Ethiopians, who began to suspect that for the sake of their own aggrandizement, they were laying a train which would ultimately explode in the subjugation of their empire to the crown of Portugal. The suspicion ran like fire through the country, and drove the people to the highest degree of exasperation. Both parties rushed to arms, and a terrible conflict ensued. The Portuguese were defeated, and many slaughtered on the field of battle. Those who survived the carnage were permitted to retain their effects, and ordered to quit the country. Seven thousand families obeyed the summons; they planted themselves in India and along the coast of Africa. A few remained in the country, and became the ancestors of the white Abyssinians, a small number of whom are still to be found. The present queen belongs to this race."

One cannot fail to be struck with the dexterity and address with which the traveler slides over the history of the Jesuits, especially that disgraceful part of it which disfigures the preceding pages with cruelty and blood. The remaining links in the chain of events which we have thus far



traced, are supplied, and perhaps with sufficient accuracy, from the observations of Poncet; though the number to which, if we are to believe his testimony, the Portuguese population had in his time increased, is altogether surprising. Yet he is always positive in asserting that the Portuguese who still remained in the country amounted to a considerable number, and were easily distinguished from the original inhabitants.

“The Mohammedans” (continues Poncet) “are permitted to enjoy their religious opinions and modes of worship unmolested at Gondar, though they are allowed to inhabit only a specified neighborhood in the lower part of the city. They are stigmatized by the name of *Gebertis*, or slaves, and the Ethiopians cherish such antipathy to their customs, and abhorrence of their principles, that they will not, if possible, sit with them at the same table. The empire of Abyssinia includes a wide extent of territory, though it is divided and subdivided into numerous political and geographical sections. The kingdom of Tigre alone, which is governed by a single viceroy, embraces twenty-four provinces, one of which, called Agaut, was formerly a free and independent state. The emperor keeps two armies constantly in the field; one stationed on the frontiers of the kingdom of Nerea, the other in the province of Gojam, where there are gold mines of considerable extent and extraordinary wealth. They have been successfully worked; and their proceeds are carried to Gondar, where they are deposited in the treasury of the emperor, which, however, he seldom unlocks, except for the necessities of his court or the maintenance of his army. The emperor is absolute master both of the lives and prop-

erty of his subjects ; and he claims the one, and sacrifices the other, at his pleasure. At the decease of the father of a family, one-third of his possessions usually falls to the royal treasury."

"There is perhaps scarcely a country on the globe so thickly peopled, or the soil of which is so rich and productive, as the territory of Ethiopia. All the valleys, and the sides of the mountains nearly to their tops, are, for the most part, subdued and moulded by the hand of cultivation ; and the plains are mantled with aromatic plants, which shed around them a delightful fragrance, and which generally grow to a size nearly four times as large as the same species in the soils of India. I have never seen anywhere in Europe so many streams of water as flow through this country in every direction. They profusely water every plain and valley of Abyssinia, and their banks are garnished with an exuberant covering of the most beautiful flowers. The forests abound with the orange, the lemon, and the pomegranate, which load the air with their enlivening perfumes. There are also roses diffusing an odor far more delicious and aromatic than any of the most delightful that are found among us."

"I resided about three weeks at the palace of the emperor, Adiam Saged ; he frequently conversed with me on the subject of religion, and seemed desirous of gaining information concerning its general truths ; especially with respect to the main points of difference between the faith of the Romish, and that of the Coptic church, to which he belonged. I could silence his inquiries only by assuring him that I had never studied the subtleties of theology, and

therefore felt myself entirely unqualified to give him the instruction he sought ; but that I would gladly have brought with me one, who would have given him satisfactory answers to all his interrogatories, had it not pleased a beneficent Providence to cut short his life while on his journey thither. This casualty the emperor deeply regretted ; replying, "It was a great loss to us."

Considerable doubt must always remain in regard to the degree of confidence which one may repose in the statements of Poncet, since those who accord with him in religious opinions, have frequently accused him of treachery. It is fitting that every one should be made acquainted with the fact, that after his return to Rome and Paris, in 1703, he engaged to undertake a second journey to Abyssinia. He was to go accompanied by Father Du Beruat, and entrusted with valuable presents for the emperor and principal men of the country. But after he had received the gifts, he fled to the Red Sea, and thence proceeded to Ispahan in Persia, where he is said to have closed his career with the reputation of an impostor.

Sometime subsequently to this event, in 1714, Pope Clement XI. sent out four German monks of the order of St. Francisco, as missionaries to Abyssinia. The emperor Justus then occupied the throne. He received them in a friendly manner, generously promising to protect their persons and assist them in their enterprise, although it might be attended with the hazard of his life. The poverty of their appearance, and the disinterestedness with which they refused every offer of a temporal advantage, touched the heart of the emperor, and disposed him to look with a

favoring eye on the work of the missions. He, however, forbade them to preach their doctrines in public, from fear of exciting the jealousy of the people. "Your work," said the emperor, "is difficult; it requires time. You must not drive directly in the face of prejudice, but use moderation and prudence. God did not make the world in the twinkling of an eye, but was employed six days in the work." The missionaries began to move forward cautiously; they enjoyed repeated opportunities of conversing privately with several individuals, and thus secretly planting the germs of the Catholic religion. But as soon as the monastic orders had learned the favorable disposition the emperor had evinced to the strangers, and their object, they rose in violent opposition. They declared that the Europeans were enemies to the mother of God, and endeavored in various ways to prejudice the minds of the monarch and people against them. A general excitement ensued; they threatened the dethronement of the emperor, and the imprisonment of the missionaries; but the emperor continued faithful to his promise, and contrived to convey his protégés to a place of security, till the heaving waves of discontent should rock themselves to rest. The people, perceiving the objects of their displeasure thus summarily snatched from their grasp, were stung to the quick, and driven forward by the frenzy of the moment, determined to shiver, at a single blow, the power of the reigning monarch, and invited David, a youthful prince of the imperial family, to take possession of the throne. The young emperor sided with the disaffected, and summoned the missionaries to appear without delay at Gondar, where they arrived Feb. 17th,



1718, and were forthwith condemned to be stoned. A reprieve was subsequently offered them if they would abjure the faith of the Romish church ; but they recoiled with horror at the suggestion. The emperor, however, soon began to soften ; touched with the courage, perseverance, and constancy, they uniformly evinced to their religious creed, he proposed changing the punishment of death to that of exile. But nothing less than the blood of their victims could slake the burning vengeance of the monks. They therefore urged the execution of the original sentence ; the emperor yielded, and the barbarous deed was perpetrated in the month of March of the same year.

One cannot survey so dark a scene as this in the records of missionary history, without being pierced with the deepest sorrow ; nor can we avoid regretting that such courage in effort, such perseverance and devotedness in spirit, should not have been employed in a better cause than propagating the errors of popery. Both the philanthropist and the Christian must grieve that so much time has been wasted, so much labor lost, so much fortitude and Christian heroism spent to no valuable purpose, and so many lives sacrificed in carrying forward an undertaking so entirely at variance with the benign and heavenly spirit of the Gospel. On the other hand, if this effervescence of zeal, this magnanimity and force of character had been expended in advancing an enterprise undertaken purely for the melioration of this unhappy people, and in pouring the light of salvation on these benighted wanderers to the world of spirits, who would have had the presumption to call in question the glory of a scheme, so pregnant with every feeling

of a benevolent heart? And who would have dared to pronounce it useless, although it might have been attended with the sacrifice of hundreds of victims on the altar of reform? But all the missionary efforts, and Jesuitical machinations, which it has been our lot to sketch in the preceding pages, wear a stamp altogether diverse from that of heaven's signet, being mainly directed to the selfish object of extending the pope's authority over the Abyssinian church. The Jesuits would have bound her by the chains of slavery to the triumphal car of the Romish hierarchy; and to accomplish this trivial object, one cumbrous system of superstition must be exchanged for another still more dark and hideous; anarchy must rage throughout the ill-fated empire, and streams of blood must flow. A scheme thus arrogantly planned, and governed in its subsequent movements by such unchristian views, could not succeed, because its object was not sufficiently pure and elevated; not seeking exclusively to diffuse and make known in Abyssinia the word of the Lord; the leading intention being to transplant into the country an exotic, which drank its vital nourishment from the empoisoned and corrupting fountains of human ambition. In a word, it was an enterprise too unholy in its nature, too selfish in its spirit, and too worldly in its aims, to receive the favoring regards of a righteous Providence; and it was therefore permitted to wither and decay.

From this time forward, for nearly a whole century, Christians in the west continued to slumber over the benighted state of the Ethiopian church, before they again awoke, and put on the armor of Christian conquest. The early Protestants had few opportunities to engage in enter-

prises so divine. It was reserved for the nineteenth century to witness fresh and more appropriate movements in the ranks of Christians; to see evangelical churches and communities bestirring themselves to long-neglected duty, and casting a sympathizing eye over the dark and cruel habitations of the earth. In the general survey, Ethiopia, which, in the language of prophecy is soon to "stretch out her hands unto God," has not been entirely forgotten. It was a fortunate circumstance, which, in 1808, brought the French vice-consul, at that time resident at Cairo, acquainted with the learned Abyssinian, Abraham, a gentleman who had accompanied Bruce in his travels through Abyssinia, and whom, on his return, he left in Egypt. The consul suggested to him the idea of translating the New Testament into the Amharic language. As Abraham was a man not only of considerable ability and learning, but also somewhat distinguished for the fervor of his religious zeal and the natural energy of his character, he was easily induced to fall in with the plan. He entered upon the work with spirit and assiduity, and continued to toil for ten years at the house of M. Asselin, with the highest satisfaction to himself, and benefit to his countrymen. He at length enjoyed the happiness of seeing his task completed, when he again took up his pilgrim staff, and resumed his lonely journeyings, making his way to Jerusalem, where, it is reported, he was soon after seized and carried off by the plague.

In 1818, Mr. Jowett, an English missionary, discovered at the house of M. Asselin, the precious treasure, which, through his instrumentality, was purchased by the British

and Foreign Bible Society. This touched a train which was productive of the happiest events ; it awakened the interest of the society, and a short time subsequent to the purchase, they undertook, for the benefit of the Abyssinian church, the printing of the four Gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles, in the Amharic language. Not long after, several other books of the New Testament were also published. These drew the attention of the English Church Missionary Society ; they saw that a large portion of the Holy Scriptures was now in actual readiness for distribution ; and they resolved to engage in the work of resuscitating the dying germs of Christianity in Abyssinia, and by means of missionary operations and the dissemination of the Amharic Scriptures, of reviving an interest in the word of God, which was fast passing into forgetfulness. With this intention they addressed the Society of Evangelical Missions at Basle, to ascertain whether there were any young men in that Institution, who were qualified and disposed to engage in the arduous enterprise. The subject was taken into consideration by the officers and members of the Seminary, and after fervent prayer to God for his direction, Samuel Gobat of Cremine, in the canton of Berne, and Christian Kugler of Shopflock, in Wurtemberg, were, in 1825, consecrated to this interesting work. They at first proceeded to Paris and London, with a view of perfecting their knowledge of the Arabic language, and afterward continued their journey to Cairo, where they arrived in September, 1826. They remained in this city about six months, awaiting a suitable opportunity for prosecuting their travels, and entering the empire of Ethiopia ; but discovering no opening



in this direction, they determined to leave, for a time, the land of pyramids ; and accordingly, in February, 1827, took their departure for Syria and Jerusalem. Here they applied themselves to the acquisition of the Amharic and Tigrean languages ; in all their movements keeping their eyes fixed on their duties, as future missionaries to the people of Abyssinia.

They returned to Egypt in August of the same year, where they were detained till October, 1829, anxiously waiting for the time when the civil war, then raging in Abyssinia, would allow them to enter that distracted country. Zealous and indefatigable in their work, they employed this interval of time in obtaining such information as they thought would be subsequently useful to them ; and in preaching the Gospel in Arabic, English, and French, to the motley collection of people among whom they were placed. But the wheel of Providence rolled round, and the hour, so long and so ardently desired, which was to convey these devoted missionaries to their field of labor, at length arrived. They took their final leave of Cairo, October 22d, 1829, accompanied by a Christian brother, a carpenter by trade, named Aichinger, and arrived at Massowah on the coast of Abyssinia, December 18th of the same year. Tarrying a short time at this place, they commenced their perilous journey into the interior, January 15th, 1830, and after four weeks of toilsome travel, arrived at Adigrate in the province of Tigre, where they were amicably received by Sebagadis, the sovereign prince of that part of the country. Shortly after their arrival in this city, the two brethren came to the conclusion that it might conduce to the interest

of the mission to separate, and pitch upon different portions of their extensive field. Kugler and his colleague, Aichinger, had become, by previous study and their short residence in the province, considerably acquainted with the Tigrean language; and it was therefore decided that they should remain in that section of the empire, and endeavor, under the favorable interposition of the God of missions, to lay the foundation of a permanent station. As the missionary Gobat had acquired a thorough knowledge of the Amharic dialect, it was determined that he should proceed alone to the city of Gondar, the capital of the province of Amhara, to obtain more accurate information as to the best means of diffusing the word of God, and of rendering himself useful to this miserable people, plunged in the depths of superstition and error.

We shall close this geographical and historical introduction to the journal of the missionary, Gobat, by observing that the editor has taken the liberty of making some material abridgment in several of the ensuing religious conversations, being given, as they were forwarded by the author, with too much detail to interest the general reader. He would have entirely suppressed them, as he has done in a few instances, had he not felt himself swayed by an array of motives, which he could not feel himself justified in disregarding. He thinks he has found in these discussions, which are mostly drawn from some intricate points in theology, a happy exemplification of the peculiar mode of conveying doctrinal instruction, pursued at the missionary institution at Basle. The convictions, also, which seem to have been produced almost uniformly on the minds of the hearers by

the following conversations, are, in his opinion, undeniable proofs, that, in most cases, we may give satisfactory answers to all abstruse inquiries on theological subjects, by merely repeating the simple, plain, unvarnished language of inspiration. The word of God is the "ultima Thule" of all religious inquiry—of all religious knowledge. Let the Christian minister, then, as well as the Christian missionary, learn a lesson from the following pages. Let him learn not to be wise above the simple declarations of the Divine Word. Let him not fear to give the answer often very honorably given, "*I do not know*;" an answer which the Fathers, in their councils, our worthy and ever-to-be-remembered Reformers, and many of our most learned theologians in every age, have too rarely been disposed, or had the magnanimity to give.

Map  
OF  
**YSSINTA.**  
Illustrate the Journal  
OF  
V<sup>D</sup> SAMUEL GOBAT.

SHANGALLAS  
(Negroes)







Map  
OF  
**ABYSSINIA.**  
to illustrate the Journal  
OF  
THE REV. SAMUEL COBAT.

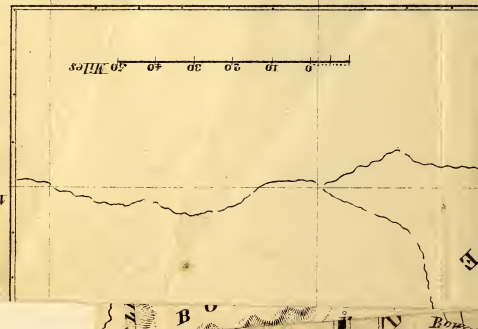




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JOURNAL

OF

A RESIDENCE IN ABYSSINIA.





## JOURNAL OF A RESIDENCE IN ABYSSINIA.

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### CHAPTER I.

Mr. Gobat's journey from Adegrate to Gondar.—Conversations, by the way, with fellow-travelers.—Arrival at Gondar.

AT eight o'clock on the morning of Feb. 25th, 1830, I left Adegrate, together with my brethren Kugler and Aichinger, who kindly accompanied me for about half an hour on my way. I never experienced a deeper sensation of desolation and weakness than at the moment when forced to bid adieu to these missionary friends. As I rode slowly on, I confessed my sins to God, implored his guidance, and entreated him to go with me, preserving me from the dangers of the way, especially from sin, and to bless my journey to the salvation of some souls.—Circumstances prevented my taking more than about sixty copies of the four Gospels, with a few of the Acts and of the Epistle to the Romans.

In the course of the morning I once more waited upon Sebagadis,\* who affectionately recommended me, as his own

\* Sebagadis was a chief, to whom the late Mr. Salt, British Consul General in Egypt, had, when in Abyssinia more than twenty years ago,

son, to Beleta Darcopti, ambassador of Ras Mariam,\* and to a servant of Oubea, governor of Samen, in connection with whom I was to pursue my journey. We moved forward; and after traveling about half an hour over a level country, we began to rise, and after ascending for an hour and a half, a mountain called Rahi-Adem, we commenced our descent, which we continued for two hours more, before reaching its base. Here murmurs a stream called Anader, apparently stretching on N. N. W.; though I could learn nothing respecting its course farther down. Having reposed awhile on the borders of the stream, we continued our route an hour longer, till we arrived at Dencanoi, a small village lying at the head of a valley called Beseté, and watered by the river Anader, and three or four others which unite with it at some distance below. Here we took lodgings for the night. Our course during the day had been from east to west. On our arrival I seated myself on the grass, and was immediately surrounded by the attendants of Beleta Darcopti.

One of them soon commenced speaking of our dear friend, Girgis,† in the highest terms. Supposing him to be

the opportunity of doing some important service. His gratitude was ever after evinced by his regard for the English people.—*Eng. Ed.*

\* The title of Ras has been given to Mariam on account of his father, the celebrated Ras Googsa; but there is in fact no regular Ras in the country. All the governors of the interior, beyond the river Tacazze, are dependent on Mariam, except the governor of Samen, and the king of Shoa.

† An Abyssinian whom Mr. Gobat had known in Egypt, and for whom he had, for a time, indulged the hope that he was a sincere Christian.—*Ed.*

an Englishman, he said that he had undoubtedly returned to his English friends, because he found not the Abyssinians true Christians.

It being Lent, I seized the opportunity of making a few remarks, supported by several passages of Scripture, respecting the inefficacy of the manifold austerities they were accustomed to practise on such occasions; affirming that without a radical change of heart, all their fasting would prove, in the end, of no avail; a sentiment to which they assented. It was our intention at first to have kept the fast agreeably to the custom of the Abyssinians; but after reflecting upon the various evils which flow from its observance, we resolved on entering the country, neither to observe nor openly condemn it; determining to be able, at all times, to say that we are careful to follow the teachings of God's word; that we believe in no doctrines or practice of man's devising, any farther than substantiated by this unerring standard. We freely opened our minds on this subject to Sebagadis, who was apparently not at all displeased with our determination; on the contrary, he gave orders, that every evening, at the various villages where I might lodge, I should be furnished with a goat or a sheep, according to my choice.

26th. We traversed to-day the valley of Beseté, skirting its borders, and continued our journey to Maaya, a village lying at the distance of two leagues to the north-west of Dencanoï, where we quartered for the night under a wide-spreading tree, called Daro, (in the Amharic, warka,) the trunk of which is about ten feet in diameter. It is the only species of large tree that I have hitherto discovered in Ti-

gre ; its wood resembles the fig-tree, and it yields a fruit similar to a small fig, of an agreeable taste, though less delicious than the common fig. At the distance of about an hour's ride to the north-west of Maaya, rises the abrupt mountain of Debra Darmot, the summit of which is crowned with a village inhabited solely by monks. It can be ascended only by means of a cord ; and it is said that no woman is ever allowed to approach its sacred asylum.

27th. Last evening the people furnished us with two tents, together with a couple of beds, one of each for Beleta Darcopti, the other for myself. Our Abyssinian attendants were whelmed in a tide of festivity, and manifested the most exuberant gayety in consequence of the excellent wine and metheglin which were poured in upon us.

We have to-day passed over about three leagues of our way westward, and have encamped for the night at Antitcho-Daga-Soni, where there is a market on every Monday. Antitcho is an extensive district under the government of the Fit-Aurari,\* Guebra Amlac, the brother of Sebagadis. He is a man of far less dignity of character and deportment than his brother, though he is said to be a valiant warrior. Soon after our arrival, I saw a man seize a lad of thirteen or fourteen years of age, who had been one of our fellow-travelers from Adegrate, and beat him most unmercifully ; although I did not observe that the boy had given him, at

\* Fit-Aurari signifies "guide;" but only the guide of troops who are sallying out in quest of plunder. In a regular campaign, it is the duty of the Fit-Aurari to march at a greater or less distance before the body of the army, and always to encamp between the army and the forces of his own master.



the time, any just occasion of offence. I demanded the cause of such cruel treatment, and was told in reply that the lad had formerly been a servant of the individual who had inflicted the chastisement, but after having received permission to leave his service, he entered the employ of another master who was on terms of hostility with the former.\* Pained at such an outrage upon humanity, I recounted the affair to the Fit-Aurari, who at first seemed highly displeased with the man who had perpetrated the deed; but learning that the boy was not in my service, he told me he could not take cognizance of such offences, because by so doing, he should have his head broken with complaints, both real and pretended, which would be forced upon him.

"How is this?" said I; "are you a judge, and will you allow a man to beat and lacerate a child with impunity, and one too, who, in reality, has done him no wrong?"

"Well, well," said he, "propose whatever punishment you please, and I will chastise the offender according to your pleasure."

"No," I replied, "I have not come into your country to

\* Abyssinian servants enjoy, in some respects, a high degree of liberty; in others, they are crushed to the most abject slavery. When, for instance, a servant wishes to leave his master in consequence of unjust treatment, if the master has the least interest with one of the grandees of the country, they compel him to remain in servitude, and that too, without receiving any compensation for his labor. If it happens that a servant quits his master for a while in spite of him, and enters the service of another, without permission being asked of his former master, the masters become infallibly enemies.

assume the authority of the legislator, but I wish to learn in what manner you administer justice." Nothing was done decisively about the matter. This district is distinguished throughout Abyssinia for the wickedness of its inhabitants.

28th. We have advanced to-day about three leagues in a W. S. W. direction. We are now at Hassai, where we are quartered for the night, and have been kindly received at the house of the governor of the district, Guebra Amlac, the former Fit-Aurari.

March 1st, 1830. We have traveled about the same distance and in nearly the same direction to-day that we did yesterday. About noon we arrived at Adowah, where I was immediately waited upon by Mrs. Coffin and her children, who came to make inquiries respecting her husband. I was also visited by two Greeks and two Armenians; but neither visit was peculiarly interesting.

2d. The whole of this day has been consumed in ceremonious calls of very little importance.

3d. I have had a long conversation with a monk of Walcaït, in the presence of several others, though few of them understand the Amharic language, in which we conversed. I began by inquiring, "Why are the Abyssinians so scrupulous in observing their customary fasts, which are not commanded in the word of God, while they manifest little concern for what has been revealed, and recklessly transgress the plain commands of the Lord?"

The monk replied, "In your country, God has seen fit to kindle in the minds of the people a knowledge of himself and his law; and you are disposed to choose the good and to refuse the evil; but with us it is not so. We, as a peo-

ple, are sunk in degradation and crime. When any one injures or displeases us, our malicious feelings instantly prompt us to take his life ; and when we observe any object that pleases us, we are disposed to pilfer it from the owner. We are also a nation of liars. We therefore find it necessary to observe fasts, and to practise other austerities, in order to mortify and keep down our depraved propensities. But you have no need of them."

"Not exactly so," I rejoined ; "but now just understand precisely your error. You wish to justify yourself before God by your fasts and other works which you are pleased to call good ; while you continue to live in sin, following your depraved inclinations. But this is not agreeable to the instructions of the Gospel, which declares that the sinner is justified alone by faith in Jesus Christ ; that the faith by which we are justified is inseparably connected with love to the Saviour, and that this love constrains us to obey the commandments of God."

"This is true," said he ; "all our people are plunged in the depths of ignorance and error ; they know not the Gospel."

"This," I continued, "is indeed a lamentable truth, which has forced itself upon my attention, and occasioned my deepest grief in every section of your country. But let me kindly inquire, are not you, the priests and monks, the cause of this deplorable ignorance ? Why do you not instruct the people ?"

"You are undoubtedly correct," he replied, "but the truth is, we have not the necessary means of instruction. It is now sometime since I first learned that the Gospel, in the

Amharic language, could be obtained in this country. I determined at once to procure it. I have traveled over a great part of Abyssinia, and have now entered Tigre expressly for this purpose. I had almost despaired of gaining the object of my journey, and was on the point of returning home, sad and desponding, when I accidentally met you the other day at Maaya. You have kindly given me the precious treasure I sought. I shall now return to Walcaït, where I will first learn its sacred contents myself, and then spend the remainder of my days in teaching them to children. Please write in it your name, that you may be honored and loved in that part of Abyssinia where I reside. When it shall be known in the province of Walcaït that copies of the Gospel can be obtained in Tigre, people will flock hither in crowds to procure them."

"Remember," I added, "that I present you this copy of the Gospel, only on the condition that you will be particularly cautious not to mingle in your instructions to children, anything which is not taught in the word of God."

"This," said he, "I cheerfully promise."

I cannot avoid indulging feelings of kind regard towards this amiable young man; he has every appearance of innocence and sincerity. He starts to-morrow for Walcaït.

5th. To-day I had an interview with one Warka. He is an Armenian by descent, though born in Abyssinia. He took me into a private apartment for the purpose of taking food secretly at an unseasonable hour. I improved the occasion to speak to him of the fear of man "which bringeth a snare," and which can exist only where the conscience is either ill-informed or depraved, adding, "Fear God, and you



never will be troubled with the fear of man." I then endeavored to show him his error, and the danger of seeking justification from sin through the efficacy of fasts and kindred austerities; opening to him the way of salvation through faith in the blood of Christ, by repeating several passages of Scripture in which the doctrine is clearly taught. He seemed touched with the idea, and, like the Abyssinians generally, assented to all that was said, though he was not fully persuaded for want of adequate knowledge.

6th. The pilgrim, Heila Michael, who accompanied us from Egypt, seating himself beside me, suddenly burst into tears, and began to confess his errors, and to deplore his wretched condition, saying that every day of his life had been stained with sin; and that notwithstanding his many iniquities, God had been continually loading him with his bounties. He appears to have been a diligent student while at Jerusalem; having there committed to memory most of the four Gospels.

7th. The Sabbath. To-day for several hours I have enjoyed the pleasure of solitude. More than two months have elapsed since I have been permitted to enjoy this treat in my own house. My mind has been much in Europe; I have thought much of my friends there, who this day assemble to pray and sing praises to the Lord, and to listen to his holy word. Would that my God would ever deign to be with them to hear and to bless!

A young man of Gojam requested, with so much earnestness, a copy of the Gospel, that I could not resist his importunity, notwithstanding my determination of distributing none at present in Tigre. This afternoon I passed with



Heila Michael, conversing with him and several others, respecting the proper uses to be made of the lives and histories of the saints. I endeavored to impress the thought that we should learn to imitate, but not to adore them.

8th. At nine o'clock this morning we bade adieu to Adowah, and set forward on our march for Axum, where we arrived after a ride of five hours. We all proceeded at once to the church with the intention of examining it; but, for some reason, we were not then admitted. Soon after we were summoned to dinner. I had indulged the hope that our conductors would remain a day or two in this ancient metropolis, and allow me the opportunity of visiting its more interesting curiosities; but at a late hour this evening, I was informed that Beleta Darcopti was unwilling to delay. At first, we were received by the people with marked coldness; but afterward, the governor of the city, Walda Michael Nebri, paid us sufficiently kind attentions. He promised that should I return this way, he would willingly show me all that might be thought worthy of a stranger's notice. He pretended that great quantities of gold were concealed in the city; and besides other depositories, that nine sacks-full were treasured up in the pillar described by the traveler, Salt. I took the hint from his remarks, to address him, together with three or four others, on the vanity of all earthly possessions, when compared with the vital knowledge of Jesus Christ, and those unfading riches laid up for them who cordially trust him.

9th. Notwithstanding the rebuff of my hopes last evening, I still flattered myself that I should be able to examine a few of the ruins of Axum before the hour of our departure

arrived. But here I was again disappointed. Just as I was ready to set out on my round of investigation, a dispute arose between my porters and servants, which continued till we were ordered to move forward.

Axum is delightfully situated at the foot of two mountains, about which is spread out a plain of considerable extent, and of a rich and productive soil. After turning our backs upon the city, we traveled, for an hour and a half, over a champaign country, blooming beneath the hand of cultivation; and then for another hour and a half, over a region abounding with shrubbery, and rugged with rocks. We then rested for a time beneath the shade of a tree, near the village of Segamo. Hence we again set forth, and continued our journey over a level country for about two leagues, as far as Ado-Watsa, where we lodge. This last village lies about five leagues to the south-west of Axum. The governor, Melcon, was not at home when we arrived; consequently we were not very cordially received. We were compelled to wait for our supper till sometime in the night, although we had not taken food since the previous day.

10th. This evening we were visited with a small shower of rain, which gave us considerable anxiety, owing to the exposed condition of our effects, our lodgings being nothing more than a common stable, without a roof. We have also had before a little rain on two or three other occasions; once at Adegrate, and again at Adowah. The rainy season thus betokens its approach; it usually commencing by short and sudden flurries of rain, attended with thunder and lightning, and which gradually increase in frequency after the month of February.

Our way now lay for four hours across a district, apparently formed of a fertile soil, and capable of high cultivation ; but it is left to luxuriate for the present in its native wildness, abounding with thorns and thistles. The next two hours we traversed fields prepared for cultivation, i. e. blackened and seared by the fires which had been kindled to consume the redundant grass and bushes. We quartered for the night at Tembera, at the house of the governor, Walakidam, who has the appearance of a proud and haughty warrior. The district which he governed is of considerable extent, stretching along the shores of the Tacazze, and is known by the name of Adiete.

Tembera lies about five leagues to the south of Ado-Watsa. During the evening I felt somewhat indisposed, and consequently was less inclined to converse than usual. This not being agreeable to my attendants, they complained of my silence. I replied, that "where there were many words, there was usually much sin." This observation was not altogether pleasing to the Fit-Aurari, who is a little remarkable for his love of conversation, especially when himself or his deeds are the subject.

11th. This morning, while I was engaged in writing among the bushes, my companions in travel, thinking I had gone before them, made ready and started off. I immediately gathered up my effects and followed. When descending the hill on which the village is built, a lively troop of boys clustering around, accompanied me for a short distance, entreating me to regard them as my own children, and to bestow upon them my blessing. The Abyssinian children uniformly manifest great respect for all whom they happen

to meet, especially for strangers. They seem generally better disposed, in this respect, than most of their age whom I have hitherto met in the different countries through which I have passed. The boys do not manifest peculiarly malicious dispositions, or become peculiarly evil in their conduct, till they begin to feel that they have arrived at the dignity, and ought to enjoy the privileges of manhood ; nor do their daughters or wives till they have been ill-treated or neglected by their husbands.

We traveled to-day about three hours. Our course lay over and among mountains of a strikingly wild and broken appearance, along the side, and through the ravines of which we wound our way till we arrived at Emferas, where we have taken lodgings for the night. This village lies in a retired valley, embosomed in the mountains, where the heat is intense, and to us, almost insupportable, in consequence of the severe cold we experienced the last night, higher up the mountain. A messenger has just arrived from Oubea, governor of Samen, whose errand is, to inform us that his master has rejected the overtures of peace, on the conditions proposed by Sebagadis.

12th. The early part of this day's journey lay down the declivity of an elevated mountain, at the foot of which flows the river Tacazze. We struck this noble stream, at about twice the distance of a common musket-shot below its junction with the Ataba, a river of considerable magnitude, and which rises in the lofty mountains of Bonahed. The Tacazze is a large stone's throw in breadth, and in the middle of the current its ordinary depth is not far from two feet. It abounds with hippopotami and crocodiles. After cross-



ing the stream, our course lay up a high and craggy range of mountains, which is very steep in the ascent, and the road withal, extremely bad. I was lame in one of my feet, and therefore unable to walk; but my hardy mule happily succeeded in scrambling up the rugged sides of the mountain, with me upon her back. My fellow-travelers, however, were not so fortunate; they were obliged to clamber up their toilsome way on foot, their mules not being able to carry them. While performing the ascent, my companions frequently alluded to the name "Tacazze," which signifies in the Tigrean language, "I am sad or dejected." We at length overcame the difficulties of the way, and reached the summit of the mountain, where we found that the people of the neighborhood had built for us a cabin composed of the branches of trees, near the village of Toursoga. Here we received orders from Oubea to remain two or three days' in expectation of news from the interior.

13th. I have been chiefly occupied through the day in reading the Gospel with a priest of our company, by the name of Hiskias. Several others gathered around us, and heard the words of eternal truth. I accompanied my reading with such explanatory remarks as the subject seemed to demand, and such, as appeared to me, must have exposed to all present the extreme ignorance of the priest. This indeed, I intended to do. I then said to him plainly, "How is it possible for one so ignorant of the true import of the Gospel, to be set apart to perform the duties of the priesthood?" Some one of the bystanders replied: "This class of priests purchase of the Abuna, the imposition of hands



with money!" A few of my auditors were very attentive, while others appeared listless and unconcerned.

14th. *Sabbath.* The early part of the last night was quite rainy, and we lay entirely exposed to the bitter peltings of the storm, in consequence of the roofless condition of the cottage in which we lodged. I took the precaution to strip myself of the little linen I had about me, and folding it up, lay down upon it, wrapping myself in the carpet which was designed for my bed, that I could have a comfortable dress, when the storm was over. But my companions, poor fellows! not having been so provident, were completely drenched; and the air being extremely sharp during the remainder of the night, had they been any other people, must have chilled them through. But they bore it with little inconvenience. The Abyssinians, as a people, seem capable of enduring the cold in a surprising manner. They frequently sleep entirely naked, save a small piece of cloth thrown over their shoulders, stretching themselves upon the grass bleached and stiffened with frost.

I spent the morning reading the two Epistles of Paul to Timothy, in the original Greek. The cold was extremely uncomfortable. I was forced to wrap myself in my cloak to blunt the keen edge of the atmosphere, which I felt the more sensibly, because of the almost insupportable heat we experienced yesterday in the valley of the Tacazze.

About noon I received a visit from the priest, Hiskias, bringing with him a book of prayers in the Ethiopic language for my perusal. I read a few passages, freely remarking in the presence of the whole company upon whatever I found in agreement with the word of God; and as

freely noticing whatever was at variance with its spirit, and consequently the mere product of human ingenuity. I then returned the book, observing that it was of no value as a directory of conduct. I exhorted him to reject, as useless, the doctrines of men, and give himself up exclusively to the teachings of the word of God; that only sure and sufficient guide to everlasting life. While making these remarks, I pointed to the seventh chapter of Mark, and desired him to read it; but as he read very badly, the bystanders requested me to read them a few chapters, which I did with the greatest pleasure, accompanying the exercise with such explanatory remarks as I thought needful. We continued the pleasing task till we were interrupted by a shower of rain, which burst suddenly upon us about three o'clock in the afternoon, and wet us completely through. Several young men in the company appeared well, and seemed desirous of farther instruction. I pray that they may be drawn by the Father to his Son Jesus, and consequently, belong to that happy number who are taught of God.

15th. Before my departure this morning, several priests called upon me for the purpose of obtaining a copy of the Gospel. I did not think best, however, to comply with their request, having only a small quantity, which I wish to reserve for the interior of the country. I referred all who might be desirous of gaining possession of the sacred volume, to brother Kugler, in the province of Tigre.—Our course through the day has generally been from north-east to south-west. At the distance of a long league from Toursoga, in a valley lying on the left of our path, reposes Walia, a village of considerable magnitude.

After crossing a mountain, we descended into the deep valley of the Ataba. We passed along the side of the village of Querbera, located in the valley, about one league's distance from Walia. Not far to the south of Querbera, rises the fort of Sequenquena, resting upon the summit of an elevated mountain, or rather, the isolated point of a towering rock.

From Querbera, turning a little to the west, we continued our route another league to Chinaco, where we encamped for the night, beneath the protecting branches of a tree, by the side of a fountain. The attendants of Beleta Darcopti here complained to me of the difficulty they experienced, in observing the customary austerities of a fast, while performing the duties and hardships of their journey. This afforded me a theme of conversation, of which I readily availed myself. I spoke to them in a serious and feeling manner concerning the extreme precision they manifested in keeping all the commandments of men, while they heedlessly set aside the commandments of God. I then turned to the whole company and said to them: "I see that you are very scrupulous in the observance of your appointed fasts, while I have abundant evidence that you have malicious thoughts and vicious feelings reigning in your bosoms; for I hear you from time to time uttering profane oaths,\* and engaging in idle conversation, and I observe your daily conduct, which every one, who has learned his lessons of morality

\* The Abyssinians are much addicted to the vice of swearing. In Amhara they are constantly saying, "May such a superior die;" or "May you die." In Tigre the usual phrase is, "By your body," or "By the body of a superior," and sometimes by the name of God.

from the Bible, must know to be in direct opposition to the plain and unequivocal precepts of Jehovah. Does not this clearly prove that you are involved, both people and priests, in the deepest shades of error; and are hastening down the broad way to perdition?"

They all answered simultaneously: "Yes; there is too much truth in what you say."

I was more free and pointed in my remarks to them, because I frequently hear them say to each other by the way, that they have never known so good a man. Their views of my character, however, I deem of very little importance, so far as I am concerned; for I know much better than they do, the deep depravity of my heart: but I endeavor to render their favorable opinion of me a means of good to themselves.

16th. We have advanced to-day about two leagues in a south-westerly direction, traversing a deep valley which extends along the shores of the Ataba. We have encamped under a small tree, growing on the margin of the stream, near the village of Ataba. After we had taken a little rest, Hiskias, the priest, requested the loan for a few minutes, of a copy of the Gospel. I pointed to the eighteenth chapter of Luke, telling him first to read it to himself, and then repeat to me its contents. He was gone a sufficient length of time, and returned, saying, that he had read it through; but when I requested him to give me a summary of its contents, he showed that he knew very little about it, for he mentioned several things not contained in it. I then took the book, and read the same chapter aloud in the presence of five or six of our fellow-travelers, who manifested no lit-



tle surprise, on learning that the priest had so utterly mistaken its real import. I wished, however, to give him one more trial; and pointed him to the fifteenth chapter of Luke; but he equally failed of comprehending its meaning. I therefore repeated its contents to those present, making, as I went along, such brief explanation, as the different passages seemed to require. I found, on looking around after I had closed my remarks, that most of our company had silently gathered in a circle about us; which, being deeply engaged, I had not before perceived. Some appeared considerably affected by the representation of the love of God to sinners, as portrayed in that touching parable of the Prodigal Son. The priest now wished to try his skill again in reading; but the others took the book from him, plainly telling him that he did not understand it. They then requested me to read a few chapters more, which I did with the greatest pleasure until a violent shower, coming suddenly upon us, compelled me to close the book. The priest, to whom I spoke with so much freedom, still treats me with great cordiality and respect.

17th. This morning we proceeded on our way till we arrived at Ebena, a village about two leagues from our last night's encampment, where we made a short delay for refreshment and repose. Thence we again moved forward, advancing another league in a south-westerly direction, as far as Dongosga. Here the Ataba divides itself into two branches; one flowing from the south, the other from the south-west. The region of country lying between this place and the Tacazze, is called Terente. We here pass the frontier boundary of Samen.



In the course of this day's journey, there rose a discussion among our fellow-travelers, concerning the authority of the priests, to *bind* and to *loose*. I felt some interest in the debate; but when I saw that both Hiskias the priest, and others engaged in the controversy, grew warm, and seemed ready to burst into a passion, I instantly withdrew and kept silence, knowing, that the servant of the Lord does not love, and will not encourage disputations.

On our arrival at Dongosga, our prospect of entertainment appeared exceedingly unpromising; the women came out to complain of our inhumanity in coming to procure lodgings at their poor village. But notwithstanding this unwillingness to receive us, we were at length kindly provided for; a friend of Beleta Darcopti, generously supplying us with a sufficiency of excellent bread, made of the flour of Teff. Myself and attendants lodged in a circular house about ten feet in diameter.

18th. We labored, for about four hours, up the toilsome ascent of the high mountain Silqui, the summit of which is mantled with imperishable snows, gleaming like a mirror in the sunshine; but we had no occasion during our journey to rise to the frozen regions. We ascended high enough, however, to enjoy a rich and delightful prospect; it being, I think, one of the most picturesque views I have hitherto beheld. At about a league's distance to the west of Silqui, lies a large village called Sona, where the governors of Samen sometimes reside; and about the same distance to the W. S. W. of the above-named village, rises the lofty summit of Toloca, giving sublimity to the scene.

My traveling companions informed me that the Toloca

was formerly in the possession of the Falashas or Jews; but they were able to give me no further information concerning them. At the feet of its towering peaks, is the village of Haouasa, inhabited almost entirely by Mussulmans, in part descended from the Jews. Between the Silqui and Toloca rushes the river Bouga; and beyond the Toloca flows another stream, called the Antsia; both of which finally unite their waters with the Tacazze. We visited in the course of the day, the celebrated monastery, or rather district of Waldeba, inhabited solely by monks and nuns, who cannot be said, however, to enjoy the highest reputation, even for Abyssinia. But notwithstanding their reputed profligacy, it is said that many among them are so superstitious that they never eat either bread or meat.

As the eye stretches on to the north, the view is lost amid the swelling hills and jutting peaks of Walcaït, which rise one above another in enchanting wildness. While we were toiling up the steep ascent of the Silqui, our course lay nearly in a south-westerly direction; but on arriving at the highest point to which we ascended, turning our course to the south, we continued to traverse the sides of the mountains about eight hundred feet beneath its summit. We prosecuted our journey, keeping nearly the same elevation for about two leagues; and then made a slight descent for the purpose of striking the village of Lori, where we intended to procure lodgings for the night. At the moment of our arrival, and before we could secure comfortable accommodations, we were surprised by a cold and violent shower of rain. Not more than four hundred feet above us, it fell in snow or hail. Before procuring suitable lodgings,

we also experienced considerable inconvenience in other respects, being, as it were, heaped one upon another in a small hut. We finally succeeded, however, in procuring better accommodations; but we were not then entirely free from anxiety, our porters being still in the rear in consequence of the badness of the roads, which were vastly worse than any we had hitherto found. They, however, at length arrived, having experienced no other misfortune than being drenched with rain, and wearied by the toils of the way. While at Lori, the temperature of the atmosphere, and the general features of the scenery, reminded me of Switzerland in the seasons of spring or autumn. It is a region of frosts and snows. But notwithstanding the cold, the inhabitants, in consequence of the scarcity of building timber so high up the mountain, reside chiefly in houses small in size, and badly built; being open, and exposing the indwellers to every beating storm. Their clothing by day and their covering by night, is seldom more than a small piece of linen cloth, or a sheepskin thrown over their shoulders.

19th. This morning a mountain again lay in our way, and we spent about two hours in clambering up its steep ascent. We then turned our course to the south till we reached the foot of Mount Bonahed, whose towering head is almost perpetually crowned with snow. A few miles to the S. S. E. of Mount Bonahed, lies the village or fort of Ambo Hai, which is probably the highest point of land in Abyssinia. Thence inclining a little more to the west, we pursued our way, for three hours, along the sides of a mountain called Aina, to the village of Ambas. Here at first we were not very kindly received. For a considerable time, we were

forced to remain without the village, sitting in the cold, until a heavy fall of rain commenced, mingled with hail. I then suddenly arose to go for my mule, as if intending to pursue my journey. This movement so alarmed the people, that they immediately begged me to stay, and accept for my convenience the best lodgings their village afforded. Beleta Darcopti procured accommodations for the night in another village.

The inhabitants of the villages lying on this part of our tour, have not received official orders to entertain us, it not being the course marked out for us to pursue. We had been ordered to take another route from Lori—one that would lead us directly through the village of Antchatcab, the residence of Oubea; but, learning that he had come to an open rupture with Mariam, and was then actually in the field against him, we resolved to take the shortest course to Gondar. This incident has thrown Beleta Darcopti into an unpleasant position; he is in constant alarm, lest Oubea should arrest his course, and take from him the three hundred *talaris* which he had just received from Sebagadis. I will state the facts of the case more particularly. Some difficulties existing between Sebagadis and Oubea, on one side, and Mariam on the other, Beleta Darcopti was sent as ambassador from the latter to negotiate terms of reconciliation with the former. He first held a conference with Sebagadis; and, while negotiating with him, his master, by some means, offended Oubea, and the latter instantly rallied his troops and entered the field against him, without waiting to hear the proposals of peace. Such being the state of affairs, every consideration calculated to excite my fears has



been suggested to me to prevent my proceeding to Gondar ; but I have not seen as yet sufficient cause to change my original purpose.

I have observed a remarkable regularity in the changes of the weather, occurring daily since we have been traveling among the mountains of Samen. The morning is beautiful, the sky clear and serene, and the sun shines brilliantly with a scorching heat, until nearly eleven o'clock ; the heavens then become gradually obscured, and a quick and enlivening breeze springs up. About one o'clock in the afternoon, a few peals of thunder are heard rolling in the distance, and, about three hours afterwards, the rain begins to descend, accompanied by considerable wind, continuing till sunset.

20th. Our last night's host, who appeared at first very little disposed to receive us, became afterwards more reconciled to his visitors, and, with his wife, assumed a tone of considerable cordiality and kindness. As we were desirous of advancing farther to-day than usual, in consequence of the fears of Beleta Darcopti, and consequently were in motion long before the dawn, our host was also up and ready for our service, generously offering to attend us for half an hour, and direct our way, as we should be unable to follow it while it was dark. During the latter part of the night the air was quite chilly ; but between daybreak and sunrise, the cold increased, and became so stinging, that we could with extreme difficulty hold the reins of our mules, even with our hands wrapped in the folds of our garments. We made about three leagues during the day, traveling in a south-west direction, till we arrived at Sancaber, where we were stopped by the soldiers of Oubea. They told us



that we must remain here till further orders were received from Antchateab; we therefore, instantly dispatched a messenger to that place. Sancaber is an assemblage of about thirty small huts, inhabited by soldiers. It is a stronghold, situated on a narrow ridge, swelling up between two gulfs of great depth; and its exposed situation renders it extremely cold and bleak. They devoted one of the largest and most convenient buildings to my accommodation, where I improved the opportunity thus afforded, in reading to my fellow-travelers the eleventh and seventeenth chapters of St. John, and continued the exercise till a storm of wind and rain arose, and became so violent, that it carried away one half of the roof that covered my lodgings. I was obliged, therefore, to seek other accommodations, and am now lodged in a small hut of a circular form, about seven feet in diameter, and six in height.

On our arrival, I dispatched my men with a little pepper, a few needles, and sundry articles of this sort, to exchange for food at two different markets, considerably distant from this place. Just before sunset, they returned with a sack of barley bread, a little parched grain, and a cruise of beer, of which we partook together, like brethren. As a general thing, the people of these mountains eat little bread, excepting a coarse kind, made of barley or beans; they make no use of teff, and very little of wheat.

21st. Last evening we were favored with a beautiful spectacle; the whole country seemed illuminated by the numerous fires, which had been kindled and were brilliantly burning beneath us. This, as the rainy season approaches, is no unusual appearance; the people, being in the habit of

setting fire to the dry grass and redundant herbage, which remain of the last year's growth. The aspect of the country during this season of the year, is consequently extremely disagreeable; for the eye, as it wanders abroad, can find little on which to rest, but melancholy plains, where the withered herbage still remains, or roam over entire districts which have been swept by the devouring element, blackened and desolate wastes. I spent the forenoon by myself, engaged in the delightful employment of reading the Gospel in the original language. This morning, I dispatched two of my servants again with needles to purchase provisions; but about noon, the messenger whom we had commissioned to Antchatcab, returned; and we immediately set off without having taken food. We prosecuted our journey in a south-westerly direction, advancing about two leagues to the village of Belliguebs. We could obtain nothing from the inhabitants of this village, but a little barley bread, which we shared with our beasts of burthen, for which nothing else could be procured. Having had nothing for two days but a small allowance of barley bread for each individual, we should have suffered from hunger, had not a priest of the village given us a fine young kid, in exchange for a copy of the Gospel. Nothing could be purchased.

22d. We pushed forward about two leagues in a south-westerly direction, as far as Couara, where we rested awhile, waiting the arrival of those whom we dispatched yesterday in search of provisions. They at length appeared, bringing with them a small quantity of barley bread and beer, which the attendants of Beleta Darcopti shared in common with mine. At the moment we were ready to proceed, we re-

ceived the unwelcome orders from Oubea, not to go on, until after his return. We were, therefore, compelled, in order to procure comfortable lodgings, to retrace our steps for the distance of three miles, to the village of Faras Sabar; or, as it is sometimes called, Kedous Georgis Faras Sabar; that is, "St. George, the horse is broken;" or, "he has broken the horse."

This village was formerly known by another name. But at a period far back in the twilight of ages—so the story goes—a military officer, desirous of pillaging the place, entered it with hostile forces. He was suddenly arrested in his career; his horse fell under him; was sadly bruised, and his bones badly broken; a calamity which the officer was easily led to attribute to the influence of St. George, the patron of the place. He afterwards came on foot to the shrine of the saint, imploring the restoration of his horse, and promising him the full value of his steed in silver, should he comply with his request. He then returned to his broken-down horse, and to his utter astonishment, found him not only restored—his bruises healed, and broken bones made whole, but what was more wonderful, his color changed—formerly brown, he was now white. Filled with gratitude, he performed his vow; and the village from that time has been called Faras Sabar. This account is never called in question, and operates favorably to the inhabitants of the village. The Abyssinians sincerely believe, that if one should have the hardihood to enter the limits of the village by force, or even on horseback, he would inevitably be punished with the same misfortune. The governors, even in the time of war, never have the rashness to quarter their

soldiers within this sacred enclosure. When, therefore, an enemy is ravaging the country, Faras Sabar remains untouched ; the people residing in the vicinity flee to it, as an asylum from danger, carrying with them their families and their fortunes ; a circumstance which tends to render the place one of the most opulent in the country.

We entered these peaceful borders, and had been seated for several hours near the church, when we were ordered to move our quarters and go back to another village. While sitting there, several priests, and various other individuals were induced to pay us a visit. I endeavored to impress upon their minds their errors and dangers ; and to make them feel the necessity, if they wished to be saved at last, of understanding the Scriptures, and clinging to them, as the only unerring rule of faith. When I had finished my remarks, one of the priests inquired : “ What are the essential points of your belief ? ”

“ We believe,” I replied, “ all that is contained in the word of God ; nothing more.”

“ What do you say of the Alexandrian faith ? ”

“ Is there, I asked, one faith for Alexandria, and another for other countries ? ”

“ Yes,” he replied, “ there is one faith of the Greeks, one of the Franks, one of the Armenians, &c. ; of what faith are you ? ”

“ All this variety of sects and creeds,” I answered, “ has nothing at all to do with genuine faith. It is indeed, rather a proof of the unbelief and disobedience of men ; it is because they have either neglected or abandoned the word of God, and followed the flickering light of human in-



genuity, that mankind are so much at variance upon religious subjects. St. Paul says, there is but one baptism, one faith; and in that last touching prayer of our Saviour with his disciples, he intercedes with the Father that all might be *one*, sanctified through the truth, which is the word of God."

"But," continued the priest, "what is your opinion of Arius and his followers? They say that they derive their doctrines exclusively from the Scriptures, and yet they maintain that Jesus Christ is a mere creature."

"Arius," I replied, "promulgated this doctrine, because he did not clearly understand the whole of the Scriptures; while professing to make the Gospel the rule of his faith, he was in reality rejecting a part of it. St. Paul says in the Epistle to the Romans, that *Christ is God over all, blessed forever*, and again, both in his Epistle to the Philippians, and in that to the Hebrews, he declares that all things were created by Jesus Christ, and that he upholds and sustains the world by the word of his power; and St. John is equally explicit, maintaining that *he is the true God and eternal life*."

"There are some," he again remarked, "who maintain that the Holy Spirit proceeds both from the Father and the Son. We believe that it proceeds from the Father only. What is your opinion?"

"Christ says in St. John, *I will send you the Holy Spirit which proceedeth from the Father*."

"This must be correct. But what think you of those who say that the *divine* was not united with the *human* nature of our Saviour, until the time when he was anointed by the Holy Spirit; and that after that event, it was some-



times his Deity, and sometimes his humanity merely that constituted the operating principle within him?"

Knowing this to be a subject which often forms the theme of their bitterest disputes, I replied: "This is altogether foreign to the Gospel; it is meddling with that which lies too deep for finite comprehension, and savors too much of that philosophizing spirit and subtle investigation in reference to matters unknown, which is the product of human pride, as the Apostle Paul seems plainly to intimate in the second chapter of Colossians. It is enough for us to know that Jesus Christ is indeed the Almighty God, and that he became really and truly, man—a *man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief*, to procure the means of our salvation; for it is only through the atoning efficacy of his blood, that we may hope to obtain the inestimable benefits of redemption, even the forgiveness of sin. If indeed we would suffer our minds to become absorbed in the contemplation of this unbounded love of God to sinners, our bosoms would uniformly glow with love to each other, and we might easily live together in peace and harmony, free from the burnings of passion and the bitterness of strife." When I had closed my remarks, one of the priests requested of me a copy of the Gospel; and as the church in this place is one of the most celebrated in Abyssinia, I thought it my duty to give him one. We then parted in friendship.

We now moved forward to Debaree, a village situated about a mile and a half to the west of Faras Sabar, where we have procured accommodations for the night. On our arrival, I was informed that Oubea had given orders to detain Beleta Darcopti in the neighborhood of the village, un-

til he should return. But I was told, that he did not wish to hinder me from my journey, and had sent therefore a man to conduct me to Gondar.

23d. I passed this morning in the pleasing exercise of reading the Scriptures in retirement. It is my present calculation to start with the caravan day after to-morrow for Gondar. This evening we moved our quarters for the night to Amberco, a small hamlet situated upon a considerable elevation, about a league to the north of Debaree, and nearly the same distance to the west of Mount Lamalemon. We have been more kindly received here than usual. The place is situated at some distance from the common route; and perhaps it is partly owing to this circumstance, that the inhabitants are benevolently disposed towards strangers.

24th. This morning I returned to Debaree, where I had left my effects, and proceeded immediately to a house near the market, where I intend to pass the night. I was surprised in my way by a heavy shower of rain, mingled with hail-stones of considerable size. I hastily fled for shelter to a small house, and although it was overflowing with people, I had the good fortune to gain admittance; but my attendants were compelled to remain without, exposed to the fury of the pitiless storm. Just before reaching the market, I found a man lying on the ground, who had just suffered the amputation of a leg, as a punishment for revolting from the cause of Oubea. On entering the house which I have concluded to occupy, I found an aged woman chained to a man who had been guilty of murdering her brother. A moment after, however, I saw the woman freed from her confinement, and the murderer again chained to a

young lad, who was a relative of him who had been killed. The murderer is a native of Walcalt. His victim had formerly held the office of priest ; but had voluntarily renounced his vocation, that he might indulge his licentious passions without restraint. He had sought a quarrel with his murderer, and in the contest had severely injured him. The latter, finding himself maimed, almost dying from his wounds, and withal deeply disgraced, resolved to improve the first opportunity which should offer, to take the life of his adversary ; and meeting him not long since, alone in the field, he put his bloody design into execution. There was no witness of the villainous deed ; but the friends of the deceased, well knowing the rancorous feelings which had existed between the murderer and his victim, seized him, upon suspicion. They were at first desirous of seeing him immediately executed according to their summary mode of justice ; for the law of retaliation remains in all its force throughout Abyssinia. But the culprit found some means of making his escape, and fled forthwith to Oubea, to whom he disclosed the whole affair.

Oubea sent for the relatives of the deceased, and urged them to settle the matter with the offender without taking his life ; only exacting the pecuniary fine, which is usually regarded as an indemnification for the crime of murder. The friends of the victim were persuaded by the governor. The criminal was therefore sentenced to pay the sum of twenty *okiets*, or two hundred *talaris* ; and he has now taken his station near the market, and constantly asks alms of all who pass in his way ; that he may have wherewith to pay the stipulated fine. From morning till night you may hear

his voice rising above the din of business, "Yanassi! Yanassi!" "For my life! for my life!" When a murderer is brought before a governor, he has no authority to pronounce judgment against him; but he may use his influence with the relatives of the deceased, to induce them to become reconciled to the murderer; and instead of taking his life, to take a specified sum of money; although he has no power to enforce the acceptance of the proposal. If, however, the culprit has added robbery to murder, the governor assumes the prerogative of deciding against him in person.

The market of Debaree is one of the most considerable in Abyssinia. It is open every Wednesday, and a caravan is organized at Gondar, composed of twelve or fifteen hundred men, which passes regularly every week from the city to this place, and returns, for the purpose of supplying the capital with salt, an article which they purchase at the market in exchange for cattle and cloth. At the present time, a *talari* is worth twenty-seven pieces of salt, about ten inches in length, two in breadth, and one in thickness. At Gondar, it is usually worth twenty-two pieces, though sometimes not more than fifteen. The market at Debaree yields to the governor of Samen an annual revenue of about three thousand *talaris*; and the Negad-Ras, or principal officer of the customs, generally appropriates an equal amount to his own use; though he is said to be guilty of extortion. He is a Mussulman.

25th. I set off this morning in company with the weekly caravan for Gondar. Our march lay over a level country finely watered by many rivulets. We saw only a single village, named Arona, lying on the left of our route, not far



from nine miles S. S. W. of Debaree. We then entered a more undulating region—now rising into hills, and again sinking into valleys; and scattered here and there, we descried the ruins of numerous villages, devastated by Googsa, who, about twenty-five years since, swept like a desolating flood over this section of the country. From Arona, we pushed forward ten or twelve miles to Tchambelga, where I have taken lodgings beneath a leafless tree.

One may see, even from Debaree, the trees that embosom the church of Tchambelga, which Bruce has erroneously taken for the cedar, and Salt (at Taranta) for the fir; but they neither entirely resemble the cedars of Lebanon, nor the firs of Europe. They occupy a middle space between the two; they have thorns, but neither so hard nor so stiff as those of the cedar, and yield a fruit very similar to that of the juniper tree. They furnish most of the timber used for building in Abyssinia.

In passing through the villages to-day, the people seemed almost determined to force me to become their Abuna, that is to say, bishop. They gathered in crowds around me, prostrating themselves before me, and imploring the absolution of their sins! But alas! when I saw this infatuation, it seemed as if my heart would break. Had I no other objection to such promotion, I could never consent to receive the homage, little less than adoration, commonly rendered to a bishop in Abyssinia, and indeed throughout the Levant.

At twilight last evening, I was suddenly seized with agues so severe, that they completely overcame me, and I was unable to sit up. I threw myself upon my bed, and the chills which had shaken my frame, were, in a few moments,



succeeded by a burning fever. I drank three large glasses of water, and immediately fell into a gentle slumber. But I was soon awakened by a heavy fall of rain, which completely drenched every article of clothing I had about me; the water that flowed beneath the grass penetrated even the carpet on which I lay, and the rain still fell in torrents. I tried to procure better accommodations, offering a talari for a house only for the night; but all my efforts were in vain. It was a dark hour; but recommending myself to the Divine protection, and wrapping my clothes, dripping as they were, about me, I resumed my couch. Just before midnight, the rain ceased. My linen absorbed the heat which radiated from my feverish limbs, and I soon became comfortable, and rested quietly till the moment of our departure at the dawn of day.

We could purchase nothing at Tchambelga but a little beer. We were not left, however, entirely destitute. As I was quite abstemious yesterday morning, taking but a small piece of barley-bread with garlic, my attendants in the evening, thinking I might need it, generously left me a part of their own, which, after traveling about two hours this morning, I shared with them. But all the food we had to sustain us under the fatigues of the day, hardly amounted to an ounce for each. We traversed a champaign country for the distance of about five leagues, without observing a solitary village. The fiery banner of war has long waved here; the whole region forming, for more than thirty years past, an almost uninterrupted battle-field, where the belligerent forces of the house of Googsa, and those of the governors of

Samen have met in mortal conflict, doing the work of ravage and death. Consequently, though naturally of a rich and productive soil, it now sleeps beneath the genial sun and refreshing shower, a desolate waste, without a hamlet to relieve its loneliness, or scarce a vestige of cultivation to enliven the scene. The country we then passed over was more broken ; and after traveling over hill, dale, and mountain for four successive hours, we arrived at Gondar, the goal we had long toiled to reach. This is a city of considerable magnitude, containing within its circumference forty-four churches ; and, in consequence of the great number of shade-trees around them, rather resembles, as seen from a distance, a forest than a metropolis of an extensive province.

Before entering the city, we were informed that the house of Thelolargai, to whom I had been recommended by the governor of Tigre, had been burnt. I was therefore obliged to seek other accommodations, and have taken up my abode at the house of Emmaha, the man whom Sebagadis gave me as guide. But on our arrival, as the family were not expecting us, they had neither food nor drink to supply our pressing wants. His wife, however, soon succeeded in procuring a sufficiency of bread and beer, but learning that I did not drink the latter, set off in company with one of her domestics for the market, to purchase a little wine or mead, in special kindness to myself. Having obtained what she sought, on her return she was assailed by thieves, who violently took away the mead she had purchased, and robbed both herself and servant of almost every article of clothing they had about them. She, however, did not submit to this

depredation tamely ; she struggled in self-defence, and received several bruises in the encounter ; though when she reached home, she neither evinced pain, nor uttered the least complaint respecting the abuse she had received. Oubea is encamped on a mountain in the vicinity of Gondar.

## CHAPTER II.

Interview with Oubea.—Mr. Gobat concludes to remain at Gondar.—

Is placed by Oubea under the protection of the Etchegua, chief of the monks.—Conversations with Alaca Waldab, Habeta Selsasse, and other ecclesiastics, (interspersed throughout the chapter.)—Visit to the king, Joas.—Troubles at the custom-house.—Visit to Cantiba Cas-sai, governor of Gondar, and to the daughter of the late Ras Googsa.

MARCH 27. At daybreak this morning, I was informed that Oubea was making preparations for his immediate return to Samen, together with all his forces. Wishing to see him before his departure, I hastened to meet him on the road. I had no sooner started, however, than I found I was not to go alone; several priests, bearing crosses and other ornaments of the church, were also speeding their way to pay him their respects, and do him homage.

As we drew near, I thought it proper to linger in the rear, till Oubea had completed the ceremony of receiving his more illustrious visitors. But as soon as he saw me waiting at a distance, instantly alighting from his mule, he came to meet me. The priests began at once to address him with obsequious and complimentary wishes for his prosperity. He listened to them a few moments, then bidding them delay their attentions for the present, invited me to take a seat by his side. I obeyed; and as he had ever been kind to me, even generously defraying the expenses of my journey through his territory, as far as Debaree, I

thought it my duty to present him with an elegantly wrought pistol, which I had in my possession. He appeared abundantly pleased with the gift, though he had expected no compensation for the valuable services he had rendered me. While he was examining the pistol, I tendered him a copy of the four Gospels in presence of all his officers. Soon as he saw it, he laid aside the instrument of death, and began to examine the Book of Life. After surveying it for a moment he said, "This is a gift which I receive with peculiar pleasure." He then inquired, "But why have you come into this unhappy country, at such a crisis as this, when war is raging, and such fearful commotions are distracting the government?"

I replied, "I knew not the actual state of affairs at Gondar when I left the province of Tigre; besides," I added, "*I fear God*; and I know that even amidst the distractions and devastations of war, the Lord reigns and will graciously shield from harm, all who call upon him."

Then turning with a quick and animated motion to his officers, he said, "Behold! a true white man; yes, the very *pearl* of white men; we have never met with such a one before. But," continued he, "how could Sebagadis think of allowing such a man as this, to expose his property and hazard his life amidst the disorders and turmoils, now existing in the country?"

Perceiving that he felt an interest in my welfare, I ventured to request of him the protection of some efficient individual, who should remain with me while I continued at Gondar, and afterwards accompany me as far as his residence, on my return. He feelingly replied, while tears



glistened in his eyes, "I would gladly assign you one, but I cannot avoid feeling some alarm for his safety. After my departure, he will be left alone in the midst of enemies, and will probably become the victim of the assassin; and then you will be exposed to increased insult and suffering. You had better return with me; if you are not ready to start to-day, I will delay till to-morrow."

I told him in reply, that I had only just entered the city, not having arrived till last evening; and it would be therefore impossible for me to return so soon. He then called the priests, and with an air of decision, said to them, "I commit this stranger to your protection; see that no evil befall him. Conduct him forthwith to the house of the Etchegua;\* and be assured, that if, through your negligence, or fault, he receives injury, I will require it at your hands—you shall be entirely responsible." We then took a friendly leave of each other.

Oubea is a young man, between twenty-five and thirty years of age; a little below the ordinary height, and of an agreeable physiognomy. His eye is keen, sparkling with life and intelligence, his lips are usually wreathed with an engaging smile, his hair is black, arranged according to the mode of the country, in numerous tresses, and hanging down upon his shoulders. His costume is generally white, simple in its adjustment, with little decoration, and no effort at display. He is less superstitious, and consequently less under the influence of the priests, than Sebagadis. When not particularly under the dominion of pride, he frequently

\* The chief of all the monks of the country, and almost the only one who has at present any authority at Gondar.

shows indubitable marks both of his philanthropy and his regard for God. At some future period, I shall endeavor to spend considerable time with him. His army is a disorderly band, composed of from three to four thousand men.

On my return to the city, I called immediately upon Tchelolargai, who apparently received me with the same degree of cordiality and kindness that he would have evinced to Sebagadis himself. He is possessed of an independent fortune, a merchant by occupation, and probably one of the richest in Abyssinia. Before our interview closed, several messengers, one after another, in rapid succession, rushed into the house, to inform my host that the whole city was in a tumult, and the market filled with thieves. The soldiers of Oubea were seen in every quarter, hastening hither and thither throughout the city; everything wore the appearance of depredation and war. Oubea himself has arrested his march, and encamped his army at a little distance from Gondar; and, as it is well known that he harbors an inveterate grudge against the priests and the Etchegua, it is a movement peculiarly calculated to excite the fears of the people. The reason is briefly this. Oubea married the daughter of the deceased governor, Marou. She has since died; but she left a number of children, whom he regards as the legitimate heirs to the possessions of his father-in-law, and he is resolved to maintain what he deems their legal rights. But a sister of Marou intends to secure the property to herself. Immediately after the death of her brother, she seized all his effects, and immediately took refuge in the quarters of the Etchegua,\* where she still resides. This

\* The quarters of the Etchegua always afford a safe residence, even

part of the metropolis being entirely under the control of the priests, it is consequently before them that Oubea must depose his claims; for they alone have authority to satisfy him. To them, therefore, he has now proposed his terms of accommodation; if within a certain time, they shall conclude to comply, he will leave them in peace; if not, he threatens to plunder the city.

While I was at the house of Tchelolargai, my effects were conveyed to one of the churches, and a room prepared for my reception near the residence of the Etchegua. The family of Emmaha have determined to take up their abode with me, until he shall receive fresh orders.

28th. *Sabbath*. This morning I had the pleasure of receiving a visit from one of the disciples of Alaca Waldab, by the name of Habeta Selassè. He is decidedly one of the most interesting young men with whom I have become acquainted since my arrival in the country. He was originally from Marfoud in Shoa. I had a long conversation with him concerning synods, or ecclesiastical councils. He inquired what we, as a church, thought of them.

I replied, "The Word of God is the only rule of our faith; we believe all that is contained in the sacred canon. By this we abide, making it our only guiding-star through life, having the fullest confidence, that if we follow its light, it will infallibly conduct us to heaven. We, indeed, examine the results of ecclesiastical councils, but we do not hold

in the midst of the greatest troubles. No governor dares enter them by force; otherwise, Oubea would have taken possession of his wife's fortune ere this, and undoubtedly, that of some of his enemies, who have taken refuge under this protection.

them as proofs of doctrine. We diligently compare them with the Bible; if they agree with this unerring standard of truth, we receive them; if not, we reject them."

"Have you the book called Kidam Mariam?" he asked.

"I have seen it," I answered; "but we do not receive it as authority in matters of faith, because we have no evidence that it was divinely inspired. Indeed, we confidently believe the contrary; for without canvassing its contents, and thence drawing arguments to sustain our position, we well know that the book was written several ages posterior to the death of Mary."

"But was not St. Ephraim the author of the work?"

"Whether Ephraim was a saint or not, is a point I shall not undertake to decide. I think there were many excellent traits in his character, and he has perhaps recorded some truths; but he seems to have been one of those, who too frequently confound and darken truths which they do not fully understand, and affirm what they do not know. It is, perhaps, in his writings, more than anywhere else, that we shall find the seeds of the Koran of Mohammedans; at least, it is undeniably true, that the false prophet was enabled to make too much use of them in leading off and corrupting his followers."

He now changed the current of his inquiries, and requested me to explain the reason why there were so many different creeds and varying sects among professed Christians.

"The true cause of all this diversity of opinion," I replied, "consists in the fact, that mankind have too much neglected the Word of God, and followed the doctrines and devices of



men, who, when not guided alone by revelation, are ever liable to become bewildered in the mists of error. These divisions of his followers, are by no means pleasing to Jesus Christ; he unequivocally expresses his desire that all might be *one* in him; and St. Paul has as explicitly taught us that there is but *one* faith, and *one* spirit, which universally actuates all genuine believers, and that this spirit must habitually dwell in the heart of every Christian; otherwise, he cannot be regarded as belonging to Christ. In accordance with these declarations, we find, that wherever Christ, by his spirit, has taken up his abode, peace and harmony exist, a similarity of views prevails, as he has himself declared: "*By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another.*" All these discrepancies in opinion and unhallowed contentions, therefore, prove that there are but few real Christians in the world. The fact is a solemn monition to us, to watch over ourselves with the severest scrutiny, lest we settle down in a false security, satisfied with the bare name of Christian. It should be a voice continually sounding in our ears to arouse us from our lethargy. We should become thoroughly persuaded that Jesus Christ, by the communication of those *lively hopes* and heaven-born consolations, which the Holy Spirit inspires, has indeed and in truth, taken up his abode in our hearts. Then, instead of differences in external forms of religious worship, instead of heart-burnings and disputations concerning them, joy, love, and peace—these happy fruits of the Spirit, would brighten every countenance, warm every heart—we should live as brethren, loving each other, "*as Christ hath loved us.*"

Habeta Selasse called upon me again this afternoon, ac-



accompanied by one of his fellow-disciples. He proposed several questions respecting Adam, most of which were of trifling importance. He inquired, for example, when Adam received the Holy Spirit,—how long I supposed he continued in Paradise, &c. To such questions I usually have but one answer: “I do not know; the Bible has given us no information upon that point, and we have no other means of ascertaining the truth.” He then proceeded to inquire my views upon the future condition of infants who die before receiving the ordinance of baptism. I again replied:

“I do not know. God in the plenitude of his wisdom has not seen fit to give us any explicit revelation in regard to this subject; although on the authority of that passage where Christ seems to intimate that they, and only they, who resemble children, are fitted for the kingdom of heaven, I am disposed to gather the opinion, that those who die in extreme infancy are finally saved.”

“How can they be saved, since infants do not receive the Holy Spirit until they are baptized?”

“But is this position supported by the word of God? It appears to me that it teaches us directly the reverse. We are told that Cornelius and his family received the Holy Spirit previous to baptism; and St. Peter informs us that the baptism which operates to the saving of the soul, does not consist in the application of water, but in the renewing and cleansing of the heart by the influences of the Holy Spirit; of which, the baptism by water is only the external sign.”

“But another question. We maintain that the saints who lived under the old dispensation, were not admitted to

the pleasures of Paradise, until after the death of Christ. What is your opinion upon this point?"

"You believe what the Bible does not teach; and as that is the only standard of my faith, I must say in regard to your inquiry, I know nothing about it; though I feel perfectly satisfied from certain passages of Holy Writ, that the saints of old were in a state of rest and fruition previous to the death of Christ. Besides, it appears to me altogether inconsistent to suppose that those who enjoyed the happiness of walking with God on earth—of seeing him and speaking with him, as it were, face to face, should be deprived of these blessed privileges, as soon as they are delivered from the clogs of mortality. For what is Paradise, if not a state of close and intimate communion with God? If there are other privileges, they must be vastly inferior to this."

"But does not St. Peter intimate that our Saviour descended to the spirits in prison, and preached to them deliverance?"

"This, it must be acknowledged, is a passage of difficult import; but we shall be better able to ascertain its meaning, if we bear in mind of whom the Apostle is speaking. He has no reference to the saints of the Old Testament; he refers only to those persons who lived in the time of Noah. Besides, he expressly speaks of them as *unbelievers*, whereas Abraham is called the father of *believers*. As the saints of old, in every successive age, and under all circumstances, were saved through faith in the Son of God, *slain from the foundation of the world*; so it is by faith in Christ alone that

we also can be justified before God, and delivered from the wrath to come."

Habeta Selasse then turning to his companion remarked, that he thought me well versed in the Scriptures. "Yes," the other replied; "and he is not ashamed to own that his knowledge does not extend beyond the simple teachings of the Bible. But we are not so candid—we are too proud to acknowledge our ignorance, even when convinced of it."

Selasse now changing the subject, inquired, "What is the cause of death?"

"Death, according to St. Paul, is the wages of sin."

"Why, then, did the Virgin Mary die, since she was without sin?"

"Here you can see," I replied, "into what bewildering errors men are sometimes drawn, when they yield themselves up to the delusions of human reason, as you must acknowledge yourself sometimes disposed to do; for aside from the general tenor of Scripture, almost every page of which teaches us that mankind are universally sinners, liars, and wanderers from truth and duty, I think I can convince you from two passages recorded in the Gospel, that Mary, like every other son and daughter of Adam, was a sinner both before and after the birth of the Saviour. In the first place, you will grant that those who are in health have no need of a physician, and that those who are morally *whole*—who are not lost in sin, have no need of a Saviour. Yet Mary, in the first chapter of Luke, calls our Lord her Saviour."

Habeta Selasse, while the bystanders looked upon each other, remarked, "Your reasoning is incontestable."

I resumed ; “ The other passage to which I alluded, you will find in the second chapter of Luke. It is there said, that when Jesus was twelve years old, Mary and Joseph went up to Jerusalem, taking the child with them ; and that after the departure of his parents on their return, Jesus, unperceived by them, still continued at Jerusalem.”

Here, Selasse suddenly interrupting me, cried out, “ Yes, it must be acknowledged, that whoever willingly or carelessly separates himself from his Redeemer, is undeniably a sinner.”

“ Notwithstanding,” I continued, “ I do not know that we can find, either on the pages of Inspiration, or of any other book with which I am acquainted, another female so pure in feeling and spotless in character, as the mother of our Lord. She is indeed worthy of every Christian’s imitation for her faith, her submission, her humility, and all the kindred graces ; nevertheless, since she was a mere creature, even allowing that she was not a sinner, I could never persuade myself that we ought to pray to her, much less, adore her.”

After a short pause, he resumed the conversation by inquiring, “ Is then the death of every individual the wages of his own sins, or the wages of Adam’s sin ?”

“ St. Paul informs us in the fifth chapter of Romans, that by one man’s disobedience, sin entered into the world, and death by sin ; and that death has passed upon all men, for that all have sinned. Thus the death of the body is the consequence of the sin of Adam ; but the death of the soul—eternal perdition, is the fruit of individual sins. ‘ The soul that sinneth, *it* shall die.’ ”

Then turning to the company, Selasse observed, “ I have

never heard so clear an exposition of this difficult subject."

We now dropped the conversation, and after reading together a few passages of the Gospel, we separated with the spirit of friends ; I might almost say, with the affection of brethren.

29th. I received a visit to-day from a wealthy merchant by the name of Kidam Mariam. He came accompanied by a priest, and another individual who manifested some curiosity to see me. Mariam is the Negad Ras, or chief of the caravan, in connection with which our friend Girgis traveled from Massowah to Adowah, on his return from Egypt. Girgis had frequently spoken to him of us ; he consequently knew my name, and had already acquired some idea of my religious sentiments. He therefore commenced conversation immediately on entering my apartment, by asking, " Why do you not love the Virgin Mary ?"

" We do love her, but we do not adore her."

" Why do you not pray to her ?"

" For the obvious reason that God in his word has not commanded us to ; on the contrary, he has pointed us to Jesus, as the only Mediator between God and man. Besides, he has said, *cursed is the man who trusteth in man, and maketh flesh his arm ;* for all the help we may expect from this source will surely fail us."

" Do you confess your sins ?" he inquired.

" Yes ; we confess our sins, but we confess them to God, who alone can forgive them. We are, indeed, happy at all times to confess our faults one to the other ; but it is only for the sake of offering up our united requests, more accept-



ably, to the Giver of every mercy, for pardon and reconciliation."

"But did not Jesus say to his disciples, '*Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them.*' "

"Yes, but do you not mistake the true import of the passage? This can have no reference to that kind of absolution, which the priests of the present day claim the privilege of bestowing; for we do not find in all the subsequent writings of the Apostles that they ever attached such a meaning to these remarkable words of our Lord."

"But what do you think of the person of Jesus Christ? Do you attribute two natures to him, or only one?"

"This is a point that has awakened much angry discussion. Indeed, men of various sects and nations have quarreled quite too much about a word, the indeterminate signification of which varies in almost every language; and it is a lamentable fact, which only proves the corruption of man, and his need of the meek and gentle spirit of Christ. The Bible speaks neither of one, nor of two natures, though it plainly reveals the interesting truth, that Jesus Christ is truly God and truly man."

"Do you suppose," continued Selasse, "that the Divinity, as well as humanity of Jesus suffered and expired on the cross?—or was it merely his humanity."

"This is one of those subjects which lies far, very far beyond our reach, when we take any other guide than the Bible. St. Paul says to Timothy, God is immortal."

"How then does Jesus save us? Is it as God, or as man?"

"Jesus unquestionably has loved us with a divine love,

for it is such in its height and depth as none but a God can feel. But as St. Paul tells us in Hebrews and elsewhere, that he became man in order to die to save us ; for it is only by his death that he has destroyed him who had the power of death ; and it is only by the blood of his cross that he has reconciled us to God, and procured eternal redemption for us. It is this love—this boundless love of God to us vile and worthless sinners—that should unceasingly employ our thoughts, and form the daily theme of our daily conversation ;—instead of devoting as we do so much of our time to vain jangling and unprofitable disputes on unintelligible subjects ; or of giving so much of our attention to the shadowy pursuits of this fading scene. If such were the invariable fruits of our faith, it could scarcely be otherwise than the true faith.”

30th. I have not ventured abroad at all since my arrival, having chosen to seclude myself as much as possible, in consequence of the distracted state of the city. This morning, however, circumstances seemed to call me out. I first visited Achaber, collector of the revenues, to whom it had been reported that I entered the city with a large amount of merchandise. I found little difficulty in convincing him of the error of the report. We settled our affairs pleasantly ; and he gave me permission to go where I pleased, until Beleta Darcopti should return to confirm the statement I had made concerning my character and employments. I afterwards called at the house of the Etchegua, Phillipos, but did not see him. He sent one of his domestics to say to me, that he should be very happy to see me at the expiration of the fast, (it being fast before Easter,) but during the consecrated

season it would be inconvenient to receive calls from any one. He also had the goodness to appoint a man to be my guide, and directed him to attend me to whatever part of the city either my business or pleasure should lead me. I then left the Etchegua, and proceeded to the residence of the Emperor Guigar, who bears, however, nothing more than the name of royalty, for he neither enjoys the magnificence of a prince, nor possesses those intellectual endowments and moral qualities which the exalted station demands. He was formerly a monk; but after the death of King Joas, his brother, he laid aside the cowl of St. Anthony, and assumed the crown and title of sovereignty. But the first was much more becoming his character, and far more suitable to the energies of his mind.

He has resumed his connection with the wife whom he married previously to embracing the monastic life, though it is said that he has been induced to take this step, not from any conscientious scruple, but barely for the sake of protracting the line of his family. He resides in a small circular house, built by Joas, on the ruins of a part of the palace that was erected by the Portuguese. After our first salutations were over, he bluntly inquired, "Have you any present for me?"

"No," I replied, "I never carry with me anything more than what is absolutely necessary for my convenience, and to enable me to discharge the duties of my station; but if you will accept a copy of the Gospel, I will most cheerfully present you with one." He said he should be pleased to see it, and I promised to send it to him the next day.

He then directed a servant to show me the different apart-

ments of the palace. It must have been once a fine edifice, and although now in ruins, it is far superior to anything I had expected to see in Abyssinia. Three chambers or halls, and several smaller rooms, still remain in a tolerable state of preservation, though they have lain so long unoccupied that they present a very disagreeable appearance, being covered with dust and other impurities. The king occupies but a single room. This is decently furnished for this country, and divided by a white curtain. After I had completed my examination of the mansion, he asked me if I had ever seen so superb an edifice. "Yes," said I, "I think I may have seen some in my own country that might bear a comparison with it." "What!" he exclaimed with surprise, "are there indeed men at the present day who are capable of executing such magnificent works?" I had thought best to converse with the king through an interpreter; and thus far he performed his task tolerably well, construing accurately whatever I said. But having occasion to speak on some doctrinal points, upon which duty compelled me to express opinions different in some respects from his own, I had a painful opportunity of seeing how useless it is to think of preaching the Gospel through the medium of unchristian interpreters; for whenever I advanced an idea varying at all with the principles of the king, he not only would not repeat it, but frequently said what was precisely the reverse.

The emperor is said to be eighty-six years of age, though to me he did not appear to be more than sixty-five or seventy. He is evidently not very proud of his office, and he is waiting apparently with some little anxiety, for the arri-

val of the Abuna, when it is supposed another king will be crowned, and assume his place and dignity. He has enjoyed the name of royalty about seven years. Joas reigned four years, to the general satisfaction of the people. He was not, however, entirely unassisted, being efficiently sustained by Ras Googsa, who was his firm support, or rather his superior. But Guigar has no Ras; he lives upon the contributions of the *grande*s of his dominions, who furnish him with whatever their generosity prompts them to bestow. He seemed, however, to have some property at his disposal; for he told me that had it not been the season of fast, he would have had a beef butchered for my entertainment.

31st. This morning I made my first visit to Alaca Wal-dab, who is celebrated for his learning throughout Abyssinia. He is a fine old man; though feeble and a cripple. When I entered, he arose and sat upon the bed on which he was reclining; grasping my hand with energy, and kissing it with a warmth which would have indicated a much longer acquaintance. I spent only a short time with him, but he earnestly improved it in conversation. He began by lamenting the gloomy condition of Abyssinia. He spake of his own wickedness and errors, and the wickedness and errors of his countrymen, remarking that they had made little progress in knowledge or mental elevation. "This is true," I replied, "more or less in every country; go where we will over this revolted world, we shall find wicked men giving a loose to their unhallowed desires; an evidence of the extent of human corruption. But the view of our own corruption should teach us to appreciate the amazing love of God to us, and prompt us to requite it with answering love.



For it is *great love* that God requires of us, not *great knowledge*."

"Yes, yes," he replied with animation, "if we could only feel a warmer glow of love to God, and a more heart-felt attachment to each other, how much better it would be for us!"

Waldab has the reputation of being the most learned man in Abyssinia. There are few works in the Ethiopic language with which he is not acquainted; and by his close and unwearied application to the Arabic, he has become so much of a master of it as to be able to converse in it very intelligibly. When we parted he indicated the kindest feelings, expressing the desire that I would call upon him frequently.

This afternoon I received another visit from his disciple, Habeta Selasse. As usual, he proposed several questions. He appears, in many respects, a promising young man; manifesting no ordinary thirst for knowledge and mental improvement: and to-day I was particularly pleased to find him in some measure sensible of the wretchedness of his spiritual condition. "I desire," said he, "to become good, but I find that I am extremely prone to sin; even when I sincerely desire to do well, Satan is ever by me, tempting me to evil." Our conversation was directed principally to the ordinance of the Holy Supper; and when we came to speak of transubstantiation, he evinced strong disapprobation, and even horror at the thought of it; remarking, "We do not literally believe in the doctrine. We call the bread and wine used in the celebration of the Lord's Supper, the body and blood of Jesus Christ, to distinguish them from the bread and wine used for ordinary purposes. But we do

not maintain that their constituent elements are changed. We believe that the bread remains bread, and the wine, wine; but that believers, when they partake of the bread and wine, spiritually partake of the body and blood of Jesus Christ."

He instituted some inquiries concerning the Greek, the Coptic, and Armenian churches, and asked me from which of them it was most suitable for his countrymen to receive their Abuna. As is my custom, I seized the opportunity which this inquiry presented, to unfold to his view the enormities and errors into which men fall, the moment they neglect to follow the word of God. As to these sects, I told him there was no material difference between them, that all had wandered far from the light of truth, and were corrupt both in doctrine and practice; but if any preference were to be given to either, I might say, perhaps, there were some more favorable appearances among the Greeks with reference to their future improvement, than among the others.

April 1st. A great part of the day has been engrossed with visits of very little importance. I passed two or three hours, however, with Habeta Selasse, very agreeably. According to our usual practice, we conversed upon the great truths of revelation. The more I see of him, the more I am pleased with his intelligence. For the whole three years which I have spent among the Arabs, I have met with no one, who has appeared to me to possess so rich a fund of scriptural knowledge. We touched also upon other topics, and I took the opportunity to explain to him the difference existing between our church and the papists, who are known here by the name of Franks.

2d. Again visited Achaber, the collector of the revenues. There was present quite a cluster of people, and among the number several priests, who were disputing with Cantiba Cassai, governor of Gondar. His soldiers, it seems, had been detected in stealing beer and various other articles; and if I were not misinformed, as Cantiba refused to restore the rifled goods, the priests had leveled against him the anathema of the church. The Abyssinians fear excommunication very little less than death. Indeed, this is the only thing which greatly alarms the grandees. Cantiba Cassai felt its influence, and was consequently extremely sad at the announcement of his sentence, though it was evident that indignation was mingled with his grief, notwithstanding his efforts to conceal its expression. After closing my interview with Achaber, I called upon Alaca Waldab. He opened the conversation by remarking, that it was currently reported from all quarters, that I knew everything, and that no one could propose to me a question which I could not solve. I told him the report was altogether incorrect; that for a long time past I had made the word of God my almost exclusive study; and that the more I read its sacred pages, and contemplated its tremendous truths, the more I was convinced that I knew nothing at all. "But," I added, "a reputation for erudition is of little moment; there is only one thing necessary for us to know, and that is a knowledge of God in Jesus Christ—a knowledge that is inseparably connected with love to his holy name."

There were present with Alaca Waldab five or six priests, who proposed several abstruse and perplexing questions, to each of which I endeavored to find an appropriate answer in

some passage of Scripture. For example; they inquired, "Was Jesus Christ anointed with the Holy Ghost in the same sense that Christians are?"

I replied; "I do not know; I only know that St. Peter says in the tenth of Acts, that '*God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost and with power.*'"

"How much influence had the Holy Spirit in effecting the incarnation of our Saviour?"

"This is a depth too profound for human reason to explore. All we know is contained in the declaration of the angel Gabriel to Mary; '*The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee.*'"

"What was the anointing which the Holy Spirit wrought in Jesus Christ?"

"Please to explain yourselves; I do not comprehend your meaning."

"Was not our Lord set apart, or consecrated?"

"Yes; for the word *Christ* signifies anointed, or consecrated."

"To what work or office was he consecrated?"

"Under the old dispensation," I replied, "the priests, such as Moses and Aaron, the kings, such as Saul and David, the prophets, such as Elijah and Elisha, were all set apart to their respective offices, by the anointing with oil. These, in this respect, were but so many types of that unction which Jesus must receive to constitute him our High Priest, that he might reconcile us to God by the offering up of himself;—our King, that he might subdue our enemies and deliver us from their power;—our Prophet, that he

might illuminate our darkened understandings by the effulgence of celestial wisdom."

Waldab here turning to the priests, said, "I am satisfied. What was told me of this man was no exaggeration; he well understands the Scriptures." The priests resumed; "Is it as God, or as man, that Jesus executes the office of a priest?"

"This point," I replied, "seems clearly elucidated by the Apostle Paul. In his epistle to the Hebrews he says, that every high priest is taken from among men, and that Jesus Christ took on him the seed of Abraham, that in all things he might become like unto his brethren; and thus qualify him to undertake the office of a *compassionate and faithful High Priest*, and to expiate the sins of a world. This was indeed an infinite stoop; and that unspeakable love which prompted the Son of God to make it—to assume for a time, a station inferior to angels, should swallow up all the affections of our souls, and kindle in our hearts a glow of corresponding gratitude and devotion."

"How many books are reckoned in the New Testament?"

"Twenty-seven," I replied. "Matthew, &c."

"And the results of the synods," he added; "what do you think of them?"

"We read them as we read other ancient records, but we repose no confidence in them as the foundation of our faith. We, indeed, diligently compare them with the Bible, and whatever we find in them that endures this ordeal of truth, we think worthy of our serious regard, and cordially approve; but whatever is contrary to this unerring standard, we as sincerely disapprove, and as promptly reject."



"There is likewise the book called Didascalia; do you receive that?"

"We do not; the early Christians made no use of it, and we have no evidence that it was indited by wisdom from above. Besides, I have never read it."

"Do you receive the book titled Kidam Mariam? We annex it to the New Testament; deeming it divinely inspired, as well as the other two works we have just mentioned."

"There is abundant evidence," I replied, "that this work was written long after the time of the Apostles, at a period when the church had become exceedingly corrupt, its faith and worship perverted. It came too late upon the stage to be regarded as canonical; we receive nothing more than what the early Christians received, because we are confident that they were much better fitted to judge in the matter than those who came after them. We wish to imitate the primitive Christians in this respect entirely."

"How many canonical books," continued Alaca Waldab, "do you reckon in the Old Testament scriptures?"

"Thirty-nine."

"We include a greater number."

"Yes, I know you do; you include Maccabees, Tobit, Judith, and the other Apocryphal books; but we do not—we do not feel that there is sufficient proof of their divine authority to entitle them to the high rank of canonical books. On the contrary, we think there is the fullest evidence, that the Jews and early Christians did not regard them as such. We read them, but we do not rely upon them as to the subject matter of our faith."

"Ah!" exclaimed Waldab, "wisdom and knowledge have indeed found their centre in your country. But darkness and ignorance are brooding over this!"

To-day the king sent back the copies of the Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles, which I had presented him. He directed the individual who brought them to say to me that he hoped I would not take it ill; that he did not return them because he slighted the gift, but because he had already had a considerable number of books, and would consequently much prefer that I should give him something that might be more serviceable to him—a little cloth, a piece of silk, or some other article of merchandise. He also bade him say to me, that all other white men honoring him with a visit, had uniformly made him some valuable present; and that he, being a monk, ceased not, day and night, to offer up his prayers for their prosperity, and that he would gladly do the same for me. I returned answer, "That God would soon cease to honor that man who should cease to honor him according to the dictates of his revealed will, and that it was entirely out of my power to present him with anything in the form of a gift, so worthy the dignity of a king, as the word of the King of kings."

4th. *Sabbath*. I have had the satisfaction of passing a great part of the day alone with my Bible. This afternoon, however, I was interrupted, though very pleasantly, by a visit from Habeta Selasse. He found me retired in the garden happily employed in reading hymns. I read aloud and translated a few of them, with which he appeared abundantly pleased. After a somewhat protracted conversation upon several doctrinal points, concerning which we entertain

different opinions, we turned to the epistles of St. Paul. "Ah! St. Paul," said he, "he is my favorite; he is the master of whom I wish to learn to solve the question, What is faith?" We read attentively the ninth and tenth chapters of the Epistle to the Romans. Inquisitive, and thirsting for knowledge, he would stop me almost every moment, desiring some explanation of what I was reading. His views of election are rather obscure, though he manifested no disposition to contend with the doctrine; on the contrary, I thought it evidently afforded him some degree of consolation. As evening approached, he said, "I must now leave you, or I shall expose myself in the night-time to the depredations of thieves. I know not why it is that I feel so strong an attachment to you, or experience so much pleasure in your company; but is it not a fact that the disciples of Christ become acquainted more easily, and love each other more ardently than men of the world do?"

During our interview I took occasion to give him a somewhat detailed account of the Bible and Missionary Societies, as they exist in our own and other Christian countries, with which he appeared highly gratified. He afterwards said with a sad tone: "Many call themselves Christians, who, it is to be feared, do not possess genuine piety, and who are, consequently, blindly traveling the downward road to death. There are but few real Christians." I gave him a copy of the Gospel, which he received with tears. He stooped to kiss my feet, but I forbade him, telling him it would be a sin. On taking his leave, he told me he should contrive to remain a year at Gondar until the close of my contemplated absence from the city, and then he would be

happy to accompany me into the province of Shoa. He requested me, however, to procure him, in the meantime, an entire copy of the Scriptures in the Amharic language.

5th. About nine o'clock last evening, a fire broke out in the vicinity of my lodgings, and in the short space of one hour, nearly thirty houses were consumed. We expected nothing but that our house must speedily fall a prey to the devouring element; but just as the flames had seized upon the adjoining building, the wind veered into a favorable quarter, and we were providentially preserved. Conflagrations frequently occur at Gondar, and the people anticipate such events in the form and structure of their houses. They are composed of as few combustible materials as possible; only the roof and a few other minor parts of the building can be affected by the flames. Under the thatch or exterior covering, there is constructed a sort of terrace or flat roof, composed of materials which the fire will not soon penetrate. As soon, therefore, as the fire kindles on the thatch, they seize their effects and throw them into the interior division of the building. They then shut the door which separates the interior from the apartment between the roofs, and which is so thick and impervious to the influence of fire, that by the time the light straw roof is consumed, the flames have usually but just begun to kindle on the external surface of the door.

This morning I called upon a few of my neighbors and acquaintances to congratulate them that they had been so happily preserved from the destruction of the flames. I afterwards proceeded to the house of Achaber, the collector of the revenues, and arrived at the time when Beleta Dar-

copti was with him ; but I was very much dissatisfied with the conduct of the latter. He expressly promised Sebagadis in my presence, that he would render me every service in his power after my arrival at Gondar ; but instead of this, he spoke rather to my disadvantage. Fixing my eyes steadily upon him with an air of dissatisfaction, I said to him, " Did you not promise, Sebagadis, that when we reached this city, you would cheerfully accord me every assistance in your power ? Did I not give you an opportunity of seeing, and did you not actually see all my effects by the way ? What would it cost you to have spoken the truth ? If you treat me thus—you, who made so many pretensions to friendship, when you needed my interference and influence to obtain the privilege of being sent away in peace by Oubea, what can I expect from those with whose friendship and acquaintance I have never been favored ? All I want is justice ; and if, contrary to custom, I must pay duty for the importation of books, I wish to pay what is right ; if more is exacted, you can easily take from me all that I have. You know I am a stranger here, and surrounded by strangers ; but God," I solemnly added, " is witness between us, and he will finally decide the matter according to the dictates of impartial justice." At the close of these remarks, Beleta Dacopti requested Achaber to let me go without further molestation. But the collector was not disposed to settle the business so cheaply. He forthwith demanded fifty talaris as a duty for the importation of sixty copies of the Gospel ; and as I saw it would please Darcopti, I instantly paid over the amount. In making this payment, however, I suppose I have acted in opposition



to the feelings of the priests; they endeavored to discourage even my going to the collector's office. They gave me to understand, this morning, that they regarded me as an equal, or as one of their fraternity; and that they would sooner die with me in struggling against the encroachments of the executive, than suffer one of their number to pay duty for the importation of the Gospel. But I had no feelings of envy or hatred to gratify, that should induce me so readily to identify myself with them in a quarrel against the government.

I afterwards visited the Etchegua, and held a long conversation with him and a number of priests, concerning the import of several passages of Scripture, containing chronological and topographical references. I have distributed to-day six copies of the four Gospels, which have gone forth and begun their secret influence on the minds of this benighted people. I gave one to a young man from Shoa; three to a soldier from Damot—one for himself, one for the widow of Ras Googsa, and mother of Mariam, and one for the church of Lalibala. This youth accompanied me in my travels from the province of Tigre to this place. He was naturally taciturn; seldom conversing with any one, though he uniformly manifested a lively interest in the word of God, and an eager desire to become acquainted with its truths. Whenever I spent a little time in reading the Gospel aloud during our tour, he would plant himself close by my side, and listen with the strictest attention; and when others were disposed to retire, he would frequently request me to continue my reading. He can read some himself; though not with ease or fluency enough to be readily understood.

I also presented a copy to Beleta Darcopti, who continues his journey to-morrow; but he does not wish to take me with him at present, owing to disturbances in every part of the country, and the dangers growing out of them. I likewise gave him one to present to Mariam, who resides at Debra Tabor, three days' journey to the south-east of Gondar.

6th. I passed all the forenoon at my own lodgings, in company with Alaca Stephanes, whom the Etchegua has kindly recommended to me as a suitable person, on whom I may rely for whatever assistance I may chance to need. He is a priest by profession; has traveled in Palestine; visited Jerusalem, and subsequently spent eleven years in Egypt, as a Coptic Catholic. He is not a man of high attainments, or strong intellectual capacities; but one who uniformly takes sound, judicious views of things, never arriving at his conclusions rashly. He entertains a high opinion of the English people, and invariably speaks of them favorably whenever they become the subject of remark. Five or six other individuals, together with my dear friend, Habeta Selasse, dropped in about the same time, making a pleasant little party. We discussed several points of theology, which form the themes of their frequent controversies; and they proposed to me several inquiries, to all of which I endeavored, as usual, to find an appropriate answer in some passage of Scripture. For example; they inquired if the humanity of our Lord had become absorbed in his divinity since his ascension. I took the Testament and read to them the following passages; John v. 22, "*The Father judgeth no man; but hath committed all judgment unto the Son;*" and in the 27th verse; "*And he hath given him authority to exe-*

*cute judgment also, because he is the Son of man :*" also Acts xvii. 31 ; "*He (God) hath appointed a day, in the which he will judge the world in righteousness, by that man whom he hath ordained.*" I then added, "You hear these passages ; judge for yourselves of their import."

"It follows then," they observed, "that it is as *man* that he will be our final judge, and consequently his humanity will remain entirely distinct from his divinity, till the end of the world ; but will it so continue after that event ?"

"The Bible has given us no instruction on this point. I must therefore say I do not know."

They then wished me to show them the passage where it is said that Jesus is the first-born among many brethren. I turned to the text, and read to them the entire chapter in which it is contained. In regard to some of its most striking passages, they proposed a number of interesting questions. For example ; "As we are joint-heirs with Christ, what is that which Christ is to inherit ?"

I replied ; "St. Paul says to the Hebrews, that '*God hath appointed him heir of all things.*'"

"What are we to understand here by the expression, '*all things*?'"

"St. Paul explains this a little below by the clause, *the world to come* ; for it is plain that all things are not yet subjected to him."

"What is it that we are to inherit with Christ ?"

"The kingdom that has been prepared for believers from the foundation of the world, according to the declaration of our Saviour in the 25th chapter of Matthew ; for if we suffer with Christ, we shall also reign with him."

"Where shall we be after the judgment?"

"St. Paul has said of himself and other believers, we shall be forever with the Lord."

"But where will the Lord be?"

"God has said by the mouth of Jeremiah; 'Do not I fill heaven and earth?' and again, Solomon says; 'The heaven of heavens cannot contain thee.'"

"Did not Jesus Christ declare that the heavens and the earth will pass away?"

"Yes; and St. Peter has also asserted the same thing; but he adds; '*There shall be a new heaven and a new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness.*'"

"But where shall believers dwell?"

"According to Rev. xiv. 4, they shall follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth."

But they were not yet satisfied; they wished to push their inquiries till I should give my opinion more definitely in respect to a particular point. They therefore directly demanded of me in what sense I supposed Jesus to be called the first-born. (They wished me to say it was because he had received in his humanity the Holy Ghost, in the same manner that Christians receive it.) But I replied; "Paul is not speaking here, as he is in the second chapter of his Epistle to the Hebrews, of the brethren of Christ according to the flesh, but of the *elect*, who are, in a peculiar sense, the children of God, and consequently the brethren of his first-born Son."

"How do the *elect* become the children of God?"

"To all those who cordially receive him," I replied, "Jesus has given *power to become the sons of God; even to them*

*that believe on his name ; which were born, not of blood—as a son from a father—nor of the will of the flesh—by their own choice, or by their own peculiar power,—nor of the will of man—whether the priest who baptizes, or him who instructs—but of God. We become the children of God, therefore, by receiving Jesus by faith ; a faith of which he is the author and finisher.”*

We then read the third chapter of St. John, and several detached portions of the other Gospels, of the Acts of the Apostles, and of the Epistle to the Romans,—the only books of the sacred canon which I have with me in the Amharic language. They informed me, that in one of their books, an account is given of our first progenitor, in which it is affirmed that he remained seven years in Paradise, previous to his fall. I told them this was the assertion of a fact, of which we neither had, nor could have any definite knowledge, because God had not seen fit in his Word to give us any information concerning it. I then endeavored to open their eyes to their errors. I urged them to abandon immediately, that delusive confidence which they reposed in books of human origin, and to attach themselves unwaveringly to the Word of Inspiration. On taking leave, they inquired if it was a common practice with us to eat fish during our seasons of fasting. I replied ; “ A fast, properly speaking, is a total abstinence from all kinds of food. St. Paul, however, says in the first chapter of Titus, ‘ *Unto the pure all things are pure ; but unto them that are defiled and unbelieving is nothing pure.*’ ”

Yesterday, as I mentioned, I felt very much dissatisfied with the conduct of Beleta Darcopti. But I have been in-



formed to-day that he has manifested, in the presence of several individuals, considerable regret for his unkind behavior; and, with a view of making reparation, has visited a few of the most influential families in the city, and recommended me to them with the same cordiality that he would had I been his own son.

April 7th. This morning I paid a visit to Achaber, the collector of the customs, and gave him a copy of the Gospel, while he was surrounded by some of the first people in the city. As none of them could read the Amharic language with fluency, they requested me to read them a chapter. I read the fifth of Matthew, to which they listened with an earnestness that might well put to the blush many European hearers of the Word. Reluctantly leaving this little band of attentive hearers of the glad tidings of salvation, I called upon the Etchegua, and informed him that the difficulties which had existed between the collector and myself were finally adjusted, and that we were now on friendly terms. He appears to take a lively interest in all my concerns, and had previously invited me to inform him of whatever troubles I experienced.

I then proceeded to the residence of Alaca\* Waldab, whom I found engaged in delivering a theological lecture to

\* The word Alaca properly means *great*; but when used as a title, it corresponds very nearly with *Rector*, in English. It is not necessary, however, that an Alaca should belong to the priesthood; on the contrary, there are few priests who hold the office. It is the duty of an Alaca to furnish the church over which he is placed with everything needful, and to see that priests are procured to officiate in the religious services. There are some churches, which, after defraying all expenses, bring to the Alaca an annual income of a thousand talaris.

a company of seven or eight students. I offered him the four Gospels in Amharic, which he at first refused ; a circumstance especially painful to me, on account of the unfavorable influence I feared it might produce on the minds of those who were with him. In a moment, however, he relieved my feelings, by saying he would gladly receive it, but that he had nothing at present wherewith to pay for it. Presenting it again, I replied ; " This can be no objection to your receiving the sacred volume ; all the compensation I desire is, your sincere acknowledgment of its truths, entire submission to its holy dictates, and the continuance of your friendship." He then grasped the book with great expressions of joy, and repeatedly pressing it to his lips, held it in his trembling hands till the moment of my departure. At the close of this touching interview, feeling some disposition for repose, I repaired to the residence of Tchelolargai, where I was received with all the kindness and affection of a son. Tchelolargai is a fine old man ; his fund of information is somewhat limited, but he is uniformly upright in his conduct, benevolent in his feelings, and unassuming in his general demeanor. His wife is courteous, kind, and obliging ; in a word, the transcript of her husband. I spent most of the afternoon with Habeta Selasse. We examined several passages of Scripture, though we agitated no new subject of controversy. He asked me, however, the meaning of several Greek and Hebrew proper names, to the signification of which the Abyssinians have a superstitious regard.

8th. Achaber invited me yesterday to call upon him to-day for the frivolous purpose of tasting his wines. Agree-

ably to his request, I waited upon him in the morning, and found the judges in session at his house, deliberating on a case at law. I passed two or three hours with them, witnessing their mode of judicial procedure. They have already spent four days in the examination of the case, although it is one of very trifling importance. I saw with pleasure that they appeared extremely conscientious in their deliberations, making every possible investigation to ascertain the truth; but with all their pains, their efforts to-day have proved equally unsuccessful with those of the four preceding. The Abyssinians employ no legal counsellors or advocates. Soon as the session of the court had closed for the day, the collector put a copy of the Gospel into the hands of a young man, requesting him to read a few chapters aloud, for the entertainment of the judges and a few other Abyssinian Christians and Mussulmans, present. He readily complied, and they listened with serious attention, and apparent interest to three chapters of St. Matthew. When he had finished, the bystanders began gradually to withdraw, and Achaber and myself were soon left alone. He embraced the opportunity afforded by our retirement, to apologize for receiving me with so much coldness and indifference on my first arrival. "I was induced to adopt the line of conduct I did with reference to you, Sir," said he, "in consequence of the ill-treatment I had received from an Armenian, who visited Gondar about a year since. I was prodigal of my kindness; meaning to give him every assistance and show him every respect; but notwithstanding all my efforts to please him and do him good, he frequently cajoled me, trifling with my feelings, and

sporting with my interests. Such ungenerous conduct tended to change the high respect I had previously entertained for white men into great disrespect, almost contempt. I fancied they were all like the shameless specimen with whom I had become but too familiarly acquainted. I regarded you at first as a similar character, but I am now convinced of my mistake. I feel that I have wronged you. I now crave your pardon, and hope you will be convinced of the high esteem and genuine feelings of friendship I entertain for you. If you find yourself at anytime in needy or difficult circumstances, if you think I can be of service to you in any way, come to me, open your mind freely; I will cheerfully render you every assistance in my power."

The collector is at present the most influential individual at Gondar, excepting, perhaps, the Etchegua, though the influence of the latter is chiefly available only in shielding from evil. The physiognomy of Achaber is not at all prepossessing; on the contrary, his first appearance is rather repulsive, but the more I know of him, the more I esteem him.

There are many facts showing that Europeans have exerted a deleterious influence on the minds of this benighted people. The above named Armenian is by no means the only one who has tarnished the character of the white man in the view of the darker complexions of Ethiopia. At almost every stage of my journey from Tigre to Gondar, even where the name of Englishman is hardly known, I was perpetually mortified, and my ear pained with the repetition of the profanest English oaths. They, indeed, know not the precise import of the terms, but they say they are such

as are continually bursting from the lips of Englishmen, especially when transported with passion.

This afternoon the young man who read to us in the morning, called at my lodgings, and we again took the Gospel, and examined several passages together. He would gladly have received a copy, but as I did not offer him one, he had not confidence to ask for it. In this respect the people of Gondar are very different from those of Tigre; the latter, rude and unpolished, can see scarcely anything without desiring to possess it; but the inhabitants of Gondar, more discreet in their conduct, and more accomplished in their manners, are less obtrusive. The king is the only person in the city, who has ever expressed a desire for anything in my possession; no other one ever venturing to make me any request, unless for something very trifling indeed—a pinch of snuff, or so.

After the young man had left me, I received a visit from two elderly gentlemen, the younger of whom declared his intention of taking a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. I tried to dissuade him from his project; assuring him that it would only occasion him weariness and pain, without profit. I endeavored to convince him of the blessedness of the Gospel, and entreated him to search for its hidden treasures; I urged him to go to Jesus as a Saviour, everywhere present, here as well as at Jerusalem, and ever ready to succor and save all who go to God through him. Besides the two aged individuals whom I have mentioned, several females were present, and I took the opportunity of directing their attention also to the Gospel, reading a number of appropriate passages. When I came to the close of the eleventh chap-



ter of Matthew, where is recorded the affecting invitation of our Saviour, *Come unto me, all ye that labor, and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest*; the women with tears cried out, "We never heard anything so good before." "Yes," said he who had expressed his desire of visiting Jerusalem, "I wish to learn the Gospel, and commit myself to God."

10th. Yesterday and to-day I have not been out much, but have received visits from various individuals at home, who have signified either their desire or intention of going to Jerusalem. They vainly believe, that the moment they kiss even the stones of the holy city, their sins will be forgiven; though the chief merit of the pilgrimage consists in the toils and fatigues of the way. As usual on such occasions, I used my efforts to dissuade them from their superstitious designs, and endeavored to point them to Jesus, *the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world*. They listened with attention, apparently swallowing every word; but it is only the vivifying influences of the Spirit of God, which can render the truth "quick and powerful" in the heart. The missionary in Abyssinia often experiences the mortification and discouragement of sowing seed in stony places, where, indeed, the Word is received with joy, but where, alas! it has little root, and is speedily scorched and withered. Notwithstanding, I desire to continue my labors, unprofitable as they sometimes appear; perhaps a few kernels may fall on ground, prepared of the Lord, and in the day of final harvest, some fruit may be gathered into the garner of heaven.

11th. *Easter-Sunday*. To-day, as well as on every day of the past week, I have been in imagination repeatedly amid

those once loved scenes of religious worship, in which my dear Christian brethren in Europe are accustomed to engage during this annual festival; and I hope that I have been in delightful spiritual union with them, offering the tribute of grateful praise to God, for that wonderful love he has unfolded to sinners, in the untold sufferings and expiring agonies of our Saviour. But alas! I have felt too cold in the contemplation of this melting theme; I have felt deeply the need—a need that we all must feel so long as we are in this world of sin—of being surrounded by some of our brethren in the Lord, to enkindle our love and animate our zeal. Early this morning, I received an invitation from Achaber to pay him a visit at the Custom-house. I obeyed the summons, but as soon as I entered, he began to express his regrets that he could not converse with me as he intended, being then necessarily engaged, a caravan having just arrived from Debra Tabor.

The Abyssinians, as a people, are far from observing the Sabbath so strictly as it has sometimes been reported of them in Europe. The men generally dispense with their labor, and the women abstain from their usual employments of grinding and spinning; in all other respects, they ordinarily pursue their worldly avocations with the same zeal and assiduity as on other days of the week. Saturday, or the Jewish Sabbath, is less scrupulously observed by the women, who, for the most part, continue their customary occupation of spinning. As a general thing, the females are far more active and industrious than the males, the latter being mostly characterized by their extreme indolence, performing but little labor. The Sabbath, among this deluded

people, is almost universally regarded as a day specially appropriated to eating and drinking; even during the sacred season of Lent, a season in which they deem it peculiarly incumbent upon them to abstain from all animal food, with the exception of fish.

The collector found time, however, notwithstanding his pressing engagements, to invite me into his private room for the purpose of tasting the pure wine of the Abyssinian grape, which I did for the first time. It has rather a pleasant flavor, occupying a rank between the wine of Bordeaux and that of Burgundy, and is of a pale red color. In a few minutes, a couple of priests entered the apartment, bringing with them a book entitled *Sinquesar*, and immediately commenced reading it. Each of them had a copy of the work, and as they frequently discovered discrepancies in the text, I took occasion to show them the fallacy of human reason, and the darkness of human understanding, observing that, from their present experience, they might see what little confidence could be placed in books written solely by men, and consequently, how dangerous it must be to follow implicitly the flitting lights of human ingenuity; while the Bible is a fixed star, never changing, never waning, giving wisdom to the simple, and salvation to those following its guidance. They seemed struck with the thought; for they closed their books without adding a word, and I immediately withdrew.

I passed most of the afternoon in conversation with two priests, who called upon me in company with *Habeta Selasse*. I turned their attention to the unhappy state of the Abyssinian church; endeavoring to impress upon their minds the

disagreeable truth, that judging from the deficiency of brotherly love everywhere abounding, the number of genuine Christians among them must be extremely small. "It is not," said I, "by corporeal inflictions, not by undergoing the rigors of a fast for forty days in succession, nor by checking the generous flow of social and domestic affections by celibacy, that our Lord wishes his children to be distinguished in the world ; but by a reciprocity of feeling, a warm, generous, affectionate love for each other. St. John says, he that loveth not his brother loveth not God, and he that loveth not God, knoweth him not, neither does he keep his commandments, but lives in a continued course of sin. Now I ask if this spirit of love is generally prevalent among you ? On the contrary, are not hatred, ill-will, and a thirst for revenge poisoned and embittered by ignorance, the predominant characteristics of the Abyssinian people ?"

They all replied ; " Yes, you are correct ; the picture you have drawn of us is but too true."

I then continued ; " Let me speak freely—let me frankly tell you the conviction of my heart, that it is you, the priests, who are the primary cause of all this superstition and error, intellectual darkness and moral impurity, which you see everywhere diffused among the people. For without speaking of your attachment to the world and the flattering vanities of this momentary existence, if, instead of incessantly disputing upon subjects which you can never fathom, you would devote your time to instructing the people, unfolding to their astonished gaze the heaven-born treasures contained in the Word of God, you would speedily witness a totally different state of things ; at least, you might wash your own



skirts from the blood of souls, and thus deliver yourselves from that fearful perdition which awaits the unfaithful. You must remember God has placed you as stewards in his vineyard, and at a future day will call you to account for your stewardship !”

They made no reply, and we all kept silence for a considerable time. We then changed the conversation, and spoke of those who attribute two natures to Christ. “They,” said Selasse, “adopt the opinions of Nestorius, but we do not agree with them ; we admit of only one nature in Christ, and therefore reject them from our communion.”

“Then,” I replied, “you do very wrong ; for without pretending to justify Nestorius in every particular, I must say that I think he possessed a better character than the Abyssinian clergy generally do, and that he embraced opinions more consonant with the Word of God, than those assumed as the fundamental principles of your creed. We censure him for not having attached himself with sufficient firmness to the Scriptures of Truth ; we excommunicate those only, who do not cordially love our Lord Jesus Christ. Paul intimates to the Philippians, that although they might entertain opinions concerning certain minor points of doctrine, decidedly at variance with his own, yet God, he trusted, would ultimately bring them to the knowledge of the truth ; and although there might be some differences of sentiment among themselves, he does not allow this circumstance, unhappy as it might be, to hinder him from regarding them as dear brethren in the Lord. In this respect we ought to walk in his footsteps. The Bible speaks neither of one, nor of two natures in the person of Jesus Christ ; it



simply declares, that he is *God over all*, and that he condescended to become man, assimilating himself to our natures in every respect, save sin, that he might eventually rescue us from death ; redeeming us unto God by the shedding of his blood. This high idea should fill our souls ; his sufferings, his death, his quenchless love, should be constantly before our minds, occupying all our thoughts, engaging every affection ; not only during these few days of solemn festival, but through our whole lives."

12th. I called this morning, for the first time, on Cantiba Cassai, governor of Gondar. He is a young man about twenty-four years of age. At the moment of my arrival, the judges, called *Licaounte*, (singular *Lic*,) were in session, settling a dispute that had arisen between the governor and an aged priest. By the side of the latter stood a female of some distinction, interceding in his behalf. It seems that the priest had fallen under the strong suspicions of the governor, and he had therefore caused him to be arraigned. At the time of the fire a few nights since, several articles of property belonging to Cantiba Cassai were stolen, and a part of them were found the next day at the house of the above-named priest. By this discovery, the governor was led to conclude that a considerable amount of money, purloined at the same time, had likewise been taken by the priest. He therefore ordered him to be cast into prison, where he has lain for the last eight days. This morning he was released from his confinement, and required to pay a fine of twelve talaris. The priest has all along obstinately maintained his innocence, affirming that the goods were deposited in his house without his knowledge. The affair

occasioned much altercation, but it was finally adjusted. As soon as the question was decided, I presented to Cassai a copy of the Gospel, which he received with the greatest demonstrations of joy. I have never seen one manifest so much pleasure on receiving the Scriptures, though he knows not how to read them. He was apparently so overjoyed that he could not keep silence, and was continually saying ; "What does this mean ? A stranger ! one whom I never knew, and to whom I never did any good, has kindly brought me the Word of Life ! Had he given me a thousand talaris, I should not have valued them so highly as this precious volume. The Four Gospels ! Glorious Book ! It is the light that will conduct me in the way of immortal life."

While I was penning the above, the governor sent me as a token of friendship and esteem, a few bottles of excellent wine. I learned through the servant who brought them, that his master continues highly pleased with the copy of the Gospel which I gave him, holding it in his hand from morning till night, showing it to all who call upon him.

After leaving the residence of Cassai, I called upon a lady of distinction, one of the most prominent, a few years since, in Abyssinia. She is a daughter of the late celebrated Ras Googsa, and widow of the late Dejaj Marou, both of whom are now dead ; a circumstance which has tended, in some degree, to lower her standing in society. She had given me an express invitation to visit her ; yet when I arrived, she received me with all that haughtiness of demeanor and loftiness of bearing, so characteristic of ladies of rank in Abyssinia. Having, however, previously observed similar manifestations of pride in other ladies of the country on first

meeting them, I was less surprised than I otherwise should have been. But it is all a borrowed dress, and is soon dropped, their characters being too light and frivolous, long to maintain the imposing appearance. The lady in question, on receiving me, scarcely condescended to return my salutations; and immediately upon asking me in a cold and indifferent tone how I did, assumed an air of chilling distance, and wrapping her whole face, except her eyes, in her vail, seated herself in silence. This treatment was more than I thought proper to bear; and after sitting a few minutes, I arose and withdrew, firmly resolved never again to set my foot on her threshold. About an hour afterwards, however, she became dissatisfied with her behavior, and sent her servant with an apology for having received me with such coldness, alleging that the customs of society compelled women of her rank to manifest reserve on first meeting a gentleman stranger; otherwise, they would bring upon themselves reproach. Besides, she entertained a high opinion of my character, and could not avoid feeling a great degree of reverence and consequent diffidence in my presence; and having now presented her apologies, she hoped I would prove to her, by a second visit, my cordial forgiveness. I directed the servant to say to his mistress, that had I intruded myself on her notice of my own accord, I should have expected to be entertained with coldness in any part of the world, and that even when invited, in consequence of the extraordinary usages of this country, I could not expect a warm reception; but I must say, that her reception of me had been far less cordial than even in consideration of their peculiar forms of society, I had anticipated; and besides, her excessive pride

had so much displeased me, that I had resolved never to visit her dwelling again. But since she had become sensible of the injury she had done me, and had condescended to ask my forgiveness, I would most cheerfully grant it her, as I hoped my numerous faults would be forgiven of my heavenly Father; and from this moment I was ready to pay her a visit whenever she should desire it.

This woman forms the theme of much conversation at Gondar. It is said, that in the lifetime of her husband, she became the mother of a deformed child, in the shape, partly of a serpent, and partly of some other animal unknown to me. It is also said that she is a cannibal, and that several children, from one to four years of age, have fallen victims to her unnatural voracity. When I first received this information, I could not think it worthy of the least regard; but having heard the same thing frequently repeated, and having acquainted myself more fully with the facts in the case, I have some suspicion that the report is not altogether without foundation. My suspicion arises chiefly from the fact, that several children have disappeared in a very surprising manner, and from the evidence of some who have been seized, but subsequently permitted to escape, on the discovery of certain venereal diseases which they inherited from their parents. Among others of this description, I have been referred to one of the sons of my friend, Tchelolargai. It is reported that Googsa was guilty of the same nefarious practice, and that he did it unblushingly before the world. I cannot believe, however, that either Googsa or his family can be justly regarded as cannibals, though I think it possible they may sometimes have taken the lives of children for

another purpose. I have often heard that the Edjow Gallas, the tribe from which the family of Googsa descended, are in the habit, on particular occasions, of sacrificing human victims on the altar of their Divinity; though I never met an individual who had been an eye-witness of the impious deed. There is also a tribe, residing at the distance of several days' journey to the west of Gooderow, called Zindgerows, (apes) who very much resemble the Gallas in their general manners and mode of life, though they speak an entirely different language. Some of their customs are extremely barbarous. When a caravan arrives among them for purposes of traffic, or a strolling company of strangers, although inoffensive and consisting perhaps of only two individuals, the chief of the district immediately casts lots upon them, and he upon whom the lot falls, becomes the victim of their atrocious superstition. He is instantly seized, butchered, and his entrails laid bare, to enable them to foretell, or in the language of my informant, who had been an eye-witness of the horrid scene, in order to see pictured there the events of the ensuing year. I am also told that oxen, sheep, and goats are sometimes sacrificed by the Gallas to appease their offended deity; particularly when suffering any special calamity, such as general scarcity or sickness. In this practice I believe all the Galla tribes are uniform. Even some Abyssinian Christians imitate them. They are also very fond of myrrh and incense, which they offer in perfumes to their deity. They have no other religious worship.

13th. I called upon Alaca Stephanos this morning, whom I found greatly alarmed on my account. It was reported to



him yesterday that the people of the city strongly suspected that I was a spy ; and he feared, that under the cover of this pretext, they would put me into irons, for the purpose of extorting from me a large amount of money. He said he scarcely closed his eyes during the whole night ; the idea of my unprotected situation was continually before his mind ; he recollected that I was a stranger in the country, with no relative near to smile upon me in the hour of sorrow, or to defend me in danger. After a wakeful night, he had risen restless and uneasy ; he had taken pains to converse with Tchelolargai respecting me and my hazardous situation, and found him still more troubled than himself. They had concluded it would be better for me again to leave the dwelling of Emmaha, where I had spent the last eight days, and to reside for the future at the house with which the Etchegua was willing to furnish me in his quarters. I replied, that I felt unfeigned gratitude for the deep solicitude he entertained for my welfare, and the readiness he had evinced to assist me ; but, all things considered, I could not persuade myself that it would be best on the present occasion to follow his advice. In the first place, because I was confident that I had the friendship of two of the most distinguished personages in the city, and thought they would cheerfully exert their influence for my protection ; and in the second place, should my expectations from this source fail, I had a never-failing defence in God, and believing that he would never allow anything to befall me, which would not ultimately redound to my good, I had cheerfully committed my all to him. Besides, I added, if I had taken a correct view of the subject, I thought the adoption of his

advice might in the end lead to unfavorable results, because, should I take up my residence the second time at the quarters of the Etchegua, especially at this particular juncture, when suspicion was abroad, the people might easily be induced to believe that I was influenced by fear, and consequently, either suspect me of having concealed property, or of harboring sinister intentions. In this manner I should forge my own chain, voluntarily locking myself up in a prison, from which I could not escape without difficulty, and perhaps, danger. "You must do as you please," he replied; "I do not intend to oppose your wishes, but as you are committed to our care, we must protect you. You know, also, that our country is now in a perilous condition, turmoil and confusion are raising their waves around us, and you are here a stranger, and the Bible commands us to be mindful of the stranger. I therefore could not rest till I had seen you, and expressed my fears." He was evidently alarmed, but this is nothing uncommon for the people of Gondar; as I have already remarked, they are very easily terrified.

14th. Rain has fallen in great quantities in the course of the day, rendering it very unpleasant abroad. I spent most of the afternoon in conversation with Habeta Selasse, who begins to realize the folly and hazard of receiving, as a principle of religious practice, any doctrine which is not founded on the Word of God. This evening, I gave a copy of the Gospel to a scribe who came to visit me with his son. On presenting him the volume, I entreated him to teach his son its holy precepts, instead of instructing him according to the doctrines of men. Raising his eyes to heaven, he sol-

emly replied ; " If it shall please God, I desire first to instruct myself !"

15th. This morning was spent in making and receiving visits of ceremony. As the day advanced, Selasse called, and I passed two hours with him very agreeably. He appears more and more decided in favor of genuine Christianity. He told me he was engaged last evening in a dispute with Alaca Waldab and several priests, who became somewhat angry with him in the progress of the debate. Selasse maintained the position, that Christians ought to receive nothing as a principle of faith or rule of conduct, which is not recorded in the Scriptures ; the revelation which God has given in his Word being amply sufficient, if clearly understood and strictly obeyed, to render us *wise unto salvation*.

I had always supposed Habeta Selasse to be a member of the priesthood, but he has informed me to-day that this is not the case. He has been urged repeatedly to consecrate himself to the order, but has as often refused ; " Because," said he, " having observed the conduct of the priests, I am convinced that most of them are wicked men, traveling the broad road to perdition. But what especially deters me from devoting myself to the duties of the order, is the fact, that as a class, they are peculiarly exposed to the temptation of seeking pecuniary advantage ; and I shrink from the thought of taking upon myself the holy office, with the view of gaining a livelihood. Besides, I have noticed that if a priest is rather more conscientious in the discharge of his duties than the generality of his brethren, people are almost invariably more inclined to accuse him of avarice, than they

are those who are decidedly vicious ; and in this manner all his efforts are rendered nugatory and vain. I have proposed to myself a different course. I intend to remain several months longer at Gondar, till I have completed the ninth year of my studies, and then return to Shoa, enter the service of the king, and endeavor to render myself useful as possible, by instructing the soldiers in his army. By this course, I shall avoid the accusation usually charged upon the priesthood, of teaching the people and reproving their faults for the purpose of gain, and enable myself to exert a deeper and more permanent influence on the minds and morals of my countrymen. What think you of my plan ?" " I entirely approve of it," said I ; " I only entreat you, I solemnly conjure you, to confine yourself exclusively in your instruction, to the word of Inspired Truth by which means you will both save yourself and *them that hear you.*"

## CHAPTER III.

Celebration of Easter.—Visit to the Etchegua or head of the monks.—

Conversation with him upon doctrinal subjects.—Conversations with various priests, and remarks upon their character.—Sent for by Ozoro Waleta Teclit, to cure the madness of her brother.—Disturbances in the city.—Habeta Selasse proposes a mission to the Gallas.—Brief account of the Falashas.—Copies of the Amharic Gospel distributed.

APRIL 16th. To-day is Good-Friday. In the morning the city was all life and motion; masters were sending their servants to present their compliments to persons of their acquaintance; the streets were thronged with people rushing to and fro, coming and going, to their churches. Impelled by curiosity, I also visited one of their places of worship, and found there a company of young men together with two or three priests, inattentively reading the works of Chrysostom. The Abyssinian churches are neat, and highly embellished. They are all furnished with carpets, which in this country are very expensive. The images and pictures are usually some representations of the Trinity under various forms, usually that of three old men; Jesus expiring on the cross; the Holy Spirit in the shape of a dove; the Virgin Mary with the Holy Infant reclining on her left arm; St. George, and the peculiar patron of the church. There are also frequent representations of good and evil angels, the latter broiling amidst the ascending flames, together with the arch-apostate. The image of St. Michael



seems an essential ornament of every church, and is never wanting. The churches are usually endowed by some of the grandees of the country, and enriched by the sins of the affluent. Let me explain myself. When a man of wealth commits a crime, or perpetrates any flagrant act of injustice or wrong, his father-confessor imposes upon him a long and rigorous fast, but at the same time proposes, if he considers the penance too severe, to perform the duty for him, provided he will pay a certain sum of money to the church of some specified saint. Although in this way, enough goes to the churches to ornament and enrich them, it is openly acknowledged that the priest is sufficiently careful to indemnify himself for undergoing the rigors of the prescribed fast.

I received a visit to-day from a man belonging to the royal family, who informed me that he gains a subsistence by the toil of his hands. He is a scribe, painter, and joiner. He complained much of the wickedness and corruption of the people ; though I fear his regret was occasioned mainly by the neglect of his countrymen in leaving him unaided to struggle with poverty. I was pleased to find, however, that he was in the habit of carrying about with him a copy of St. John's Gospel.

17th. This morning at early dawn, the priests of the two churches, St. Michael and St. George, came, one after the other, to perform the ceremony of singing at my lodgings. After they had finished, I called upon the Etchegua, who, owing to the peculiarities of the Abyssinian church, was for the first time to be seen since the fast. I was not able, however, to converse much with him in consequence of the

presence of the priests of the various churches in the city, who were coming in succession to sing at his house, as they had at mine early in the morning. Their first appearance was extremely disagreeable; their dress seemed far more suitable to the frivolous masquerade of a carnival, than to the sober duties of the servants of God; but I used every effort to divest myself of all those feelings and prejudices which I had imbibed from early association with European manners, and endeavored to look at the ceremony in its true light. The struggle had the desired effect. I have seldom had the privilege of enjoying so delightful a season of prayer, or of being so completely absorbed in the ardors of devotion. The deputations from the individual churches commonly consist of two priests and two boys, one of the age of fourteen or fifteen, the other of ten, all attired in silk of varying shades, and wearing crowns of enormous size. One of the priests carries in his hand a magnificent cross, and the younger boy a bell. Besides these there were several priests, clothed in their ordinary vestments of white. Their music is rude, though not entirely destitute of order or harmony. The sentiment breathed forth in their song, was similar to that mentioned by St. Paul in his Epistle to the Romans, "Jesus died for our offences and rose again for our justification." In singing, they wave the right hand with a variety of gestures, which, at first, struck me as very far from being in unison with the spirit of the hymn sung. As they approach the termination, they gently beat the ground with their feet; and declining their bodies, finally stoop so low as to kiss the ground while pronouncing the last word. They remain in this position while the Etchegua offers his

orisons for their common country, and terminate the ceremony by repeating the Lord's prayer; commencing it in an elevated voice, and gradually sinking into a softened tone as they draw near the close. In private houses, one of the priests offers prayers for the happiness and general welfare of the family.

On quitting the house of the Etchegua, I made several visits, and among the rest, I called upon a lady, Ozoro Waleta Teclit, sister of the deceased Dejaj Marou, and mother of the young warrior, Dejaj Comfou. It was the first time I had seen her ladyship, and consequently, owing to the singular form of Abyssinian society, I was prevented from holding any connected conversation with her, though she by no means evinced that pride and haughtiness of disposition, which I have often observed in other Abyssinian ladies, vastly her inferiors in rank. She, as well as those who were with her, appeared highly pleased with the beauty and mechanism of my watch. In general, when I speak of the improvements of the Europeans, and the progress they have made in the arts and sciences, they are very little disposed to believe me; but when I show them my watch, their incredulity usually vanishes, and they cry out; "Surely, where they can execute such elegant specimens of art, they must know everything."

I spent the greater part of the afternoon with Habeta Selasse. Our principal topic of conversation was baptism. At first, he seemed to have some correct views of the nature and design of the ordinance, being thoroughly convinced that the baptism of water could not constitute that regeneration of soul, of which our Saviour speaks in the third

chapter of John. But the idea that it was only an external or visible sign without any real efficacy, was a thought entirely new to him. He paused, fixed in thought. At length he said ; " This is a new idea ; it may however be correct—I think it very probable, for I well know that most of those who have received the ordinance of baptism, if we may judge by their outward deportment, are Christians only in name." We afterwards spoke of my design of going in the course of a year or two, and establishing myself in Shoa.

18th. Easter Sunday in Abyssinia. The day has been spent by the inhabitants in rioting and feasting, as such days frequently are by other anti-scriptural sects.

Last evening a rumor ran through the city, that a famous chief of banditti had entered with his fellow-desperados, and pillaged several villages lying in the vicinity of Gondar ; and that in consequence of these disastrous tidings, the priests had threatened to excommunicate all who would not continue their fast to-day, as they had done for several days previous ; but this report not being confirmed by more substantial testimony, they, who had the pecuniary means, began soon after midnight, their festal mirth and revelry. I had purchased a cow, intending it for the celebration of the Easter festival ; but as all animals slaughtered at any time during the season of Lent, are regarded by the Abyssinians as impure, and consequently, as the cow could not be butchered till to-day, Sunday, I refused to have it done at all ; a movement which very much surprised the people, though I think not to my disadvantage. We therefore sat down to our repast without the beef, and though it was less sumptuous than I had intended, I determined not to suffer the sea-

son to pass by without improvement, endeavoring to impress upon the minds of my servants, and the ten or dozen indigent people who participated with me in the bounties of my table, the solemnity of the occasion ; that the festival kept in commemoration of our Saviour's resurrection, ought to be celebrated in an impressive and religious manner ; if we feast, it should be a spiritual feast ; not one of sensual joy and unrestrained indulgence. The people make no visits to-day.

19th. The Etchegua sent for me this morning for the purpose of introducing to my acquaintance two men, who had recently been liberated by Oubea. They had been prisoners of war with him, and the fact of their release has inspired hopes that peace is about to take place. One of them is the brother, and the other, the nephew, of the late Ras Googsa. The former expressed his intention of going on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and desired me to take him with me on my return ; but as usual in such cases, I avoided giving him a decided answer. I spent the whole of the morning with the Etchegua, but was unable to engage him in any connected conversation, owing to the crowds of people which were constantly entering and leaving his residence. He found opportunity, however, to propose a few questions. Among others, he asked me whether we acknowledged St. Peter to be the head of our church, like the Franks, or St. John, like the Greeks. I replied ; " St. Paul tells us that when one is disposed to be a strenuous partisan, saying, I am of Paul, or of Apollos, or of Cephas, we may conclude that he is carnally minded, and exceedingly deficient in the spirit of Christian fellowship. We acknowledge no other



head than Jesus Christ ; nor do we receive any other doctrine than what is taught in the Word of God." This plainness did not appear to displease him. He even offered apologies for not being able to render me more assistance, remarking, that he could not be as serviceable to me as he desired, on account of the unsettled condition of the country, there being no king or Ras, who held the reins of government with sufficient firmness to keep the people in due subordination. His quarters have recently been plundered for the first time by a band of robbers, who have little to fear under the loose administration of Mariam. He told me, however, that the use of his name as my friend, would probably secure me from every insult and abuse, wherever I might have occasion to travel throughout Abyssinia. The Etchegua is a man about sixty years of age. In youth, he served his country in the capacity of a soldier ; a course of life, which has, probably, very much contributed to stamp upon his features an ingenuousness and sincerity of expression seldom witnessed in monks of other countries. Indeed, he has none of that sinister look, or that assumed appearance of sanctity, too frequently the characteristic of this class of people ; on the contrary, a pleasant smile usually plays upon his lips, an openness and simplicity beam in his eye, and sit on his countenance, which much engages my affections. He is not, however, a man of extensive information, though I think he possesses more understanding, and exhibits greater discrimination, than generally falls to the lot of ignorant and secluded monks. His friendship, should it prove durable, cannot be otherwise than useful to me among the Abyssinians.

This afternoon I received a visit from Habeta Selasse, accompanied by a number of others. As it is one of their festival days, I prepared my dinner in Abyssinian style, causing meat in part roasted, and in part raw, to be served upon the table. I think it important for a missionary to conform to the usages of society in the country in which he is stationed, so far at least, as he can do it without sin. I did not deem it wisdom on the present occasion, openly to oppose the peculiar habits in which my guests had been educated ; but I endeavored, during the whole repast, to lead their minds to the contemplation of some salutary truth. I spoke of the exhaustless love of God to sinners, and the affection and fellow-feeling that ought to exist among all true Christians ; specifying several points of doctrine, concerning which Christians may differ without destroying true faith, or interrupting fraternal love or intercourse. They retired, apparently well pleased, and, I hope, animated with new desires of seeing all Christians taking each other by the hand like brethren, and so fulfilling the law of Christ.

20th. Early this morning I received an invitation from Alaca Waldab to take breakfast with him, which I accepted. I tried to engage him in some religious conversation, but his attention was so absorbed in directing the duties of the table, that I could not succeed. The banquet was sumptuous, and the mead furnished so exhilarating, that it produced no little effect on my host ; he fell asleep in the midst of the repast, but was not so intoxicated as to be entirely bereft of reason. The rest were affected in a similar way. No one, with the exception of Habeta Selasse, was able to converse in a rational and serious manner. We spoke of the educa-

tion suitable for his son, a lad fourteen or fifteen years of age, and of his own duty to furnish him with the means of procuring it. We also spoke of his favorite project in regard to the Gallas. He urged upon me the expediency of leaving Gondar as soon as convenient, and of going with him to establish a mission among this barbarous people, with whom, he indulges the hope that a missionary might meet with encouraging success. We afterwards conversed on the general subject of evangelical missions; the more his thoughts dwell upon the animating theme, the more he becomes interested, and the more firmly fixed in his purpose of going in person, to preach the Gospel to these roving and predatory tribes.

This afternoon my house was continually thronged with people of both sexes. Among them was a priest, who, at first, was very forward in conversation. I handed him a copy of the Gospel, and requested him to read. He readily consented; but he read so indifferently that it was impossible to understand him; and when I took the liberty of correcting his faults, and of showing him how he ought to read, he said, with a view of concealing his ignorance, that he did not know how to read the Amharic, though he could read the Ethiopic with great facility. I forthwith gave him a copy of the Psalms in that dialect, which he instantly commenced reading as rapidly as his lips could move. I stopped him, remarking that such a mode of reading could only serve to offend God, and requested him to translate literally line by line. Thinking that I did not understand Ethiopic, he pretended to construe the first line with great promptness and ease, but there was not a syllable of the original in his

translation, and after repeated corrections, he was compelled to confess before all, that he did not understand what he read ; a confession that very much astonished the multitude present. I seized the opportunity, thus afforded me, seriously to represent to him the danger to which he was hourly exposing both his own undying soul, and the undying souls of those committed to his care ; for, as our Saviour says ; “ If the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch.” Then turning to the rest of the company, I entreated them not to suffer themselves to be led blindly by the dictates of their ignorant priests, who, it was to be feared, could not guide them to heaven. I closed my remarks, by reading for their reflection, a few texts of Scripture. The priest did not appear in the least offended with my plainness, but remarked, seemingly as an excuse for his ignorance, that he knew of no one who was willing to teach him ; and added, that if I should remain long in the city, he would gladly come to me daily to receive instruction.

21st. I passed the morning at the residence of Cantiba Cassai, who apparently rendered me sincere thanks for the copy of the Gospel I had previously given him. He said that he was a relative of Mariam, and of Galla origin, but that the tribe to which he belonged were descended from the Franks, (Portuguese,) and that consequently he made it a point of honor to speak the truth, intimating that this was one of their peculiar principles of conduct. There were present a couple of young priests, one of whom asked my advice concerning a project he had in view, of taking a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. I endeavored, of course, to dissuade him from the toilsome undertaking, repeating the twenty-



first and twenty-third verses of the fourth chapter of St. John's Gospel. He caught the words of the text, and immediately asked me what I supposed was implied in worshipping God in spirit and in truth. As the room was crowded with people, I dwelt at some length on the import of the passage, and endeavored to bring it home to their hearts and consciences, by unfolding the necessity of becoming experimentally acquainted with God, and the ineffable glory of his character, as brightly displayed in the revelation he has made of himself in his written Word. All present, especially young Cassai, were very attentive, and apparently convinced of the truth of my remarks.

22d. I passed the greater part of the day with Tchelolargai. His house was filled to overflowing with the poor, to whom bread and beer were distributed with a liberal hand, and each partook to his satisfaction. The whole of this week is considered as one continued season of festival which they call Easter. Every one feasts and carouses according to his means, and those who have been elevated a little above the common level of affluence, entertain a great number of indigent people, devoting a part of every day during the sacred season, to distributing food and drink among them in great abundance.

23d. I passed this morning at the house of Kidam Mariam, whom I found surrounded by as many of the poor as Tchelolargai was yesterday. The afternoon of the three last days I have spent very pleasantly in the society of Habeta Selasse.

24th. I have been very agreeably engaged about four hours in the course of the day in conversation with the



Etchegua. The Lord apparently stood by me, and I have the pleasing conviction that he gave me wisdom, and loosed my tongue to answer all his numerous and intricate questions. He began his inquiries by asking my opinion of the person of Jesus Christ, whether I thought him possessed of two natures or of only one. I took a piece of bread and said to him, "What do you think of this piece of bread? Do you ascribe to it only one nature, or two?"

"I ascribe to it only one."

"Yet," I continued, "it may be said to contain two natures, one of teff, the other of water, both of which, although in their present state they are closely united, may nevertheless be regarded as entirely distinct, and capable of being decomposed or separated. This is indeed a faint illustration of the union of the human and divine natures, as they exist in the person of our incomprehensible Redeemer; still we may trace analogy enough between them to shed, perhaps, some light upon this dark subject in the view of our feeble understandings. For a difficult subject all must acknowledge it to be; but obscure as it is, the obscurity has been increased by the indefiniteness of the terms used to explain it. This is particularly true in your own language; the term *baher*, *two natures*, which you confound with the word *acal*, *person*,—a word altogether indeterminate in its meaning, are not terms, in all respects appropriately applied to Jesus Christ, as distinctive of his incomprehensible nature, because they convey the idea of two separate existences. So, also, the term in our language, signifying *one nature*, cannot be regarded as entirely appropriate, owing to

the extreme confusion it gives to our ideas of the person of our Saviour."

"I think," said the Etchegua, "that it is in consequence of this confusion and indefiniteness of language, that so great difference of views, and bitterness of contention have always existed on this point in the church."

"Do you believe that Jesus Christ is really God and really man?"

"Most surely, with all my heart."

"Very well; on this point we can take each other's hands like brethren; our opinions are perfectly harmonious; we only express ourselves in different language. As to the church to which I belong," I added, "we never think of debarring any from our communion, excepting those who manifest no sincere love for our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."

The Etchegua then turning to the bystanders who were listening to our conversation, exclaimed, "*Eounate nao! eounate nao!* it is truth! it is truth!" Then again addressing me, he inquired; "In what sense is Jesus Christ our brother? Is it according to the flesh, or according to the spirit?"

"There are some passages of Scripture relative to this subject, which are not altogether clear; though there are others that are more specific, and go directly to show that he is called our brother in a natural sense, or according to the flesh. Among others are the following. In Heb. ii. 17, it is intimated that he is made like unto his brethren in all things, sin excepted. Again, Rom. i. 3, Paul says, '*Concerning his Son Jesus Christ our Lord, which was made*

*of the seed of David, a son of Adam, according to the flesh.'* In other texts, he is represented as being called our brother in a spiritual sense ; for instance, John xx. 17 : '*Go to my brethren, and say unto them, I ascend unto my Father and your Father, to my God and your God !*' "

" I must acknowledge that this appears more clear than anything I have hitherto heard on this subject ; a subject that has often given me a great deal of trouble ; but which I think I now understand. But how does a man become the brother of Jesus Christ according to the spirit ? "

" By regeneration, which is called the new birth, 'born of God,' 'born of the spirit,' 'born from above,' &c."

" Independently of the operation of the Holy Spirit," the Etchegua added, " I would like to inquire, by whom was this work of regeneration visibly commenced under the new dispensation ? by Jesus Christ himself, or by his disciples after his ascension ? " I referred him to the 19th chapter of Matthew, and requested him to read it. He complied, and read it through ; but when he came to the clause, " Ye who have followed me in the regeneration," smiting his breast he exclaimed ; " It is clear as day ; the point needs no further illustration." The rest looked upon each other in silence. He at length proceeded ; " Can you tell me at what time, or at what stage of our existence, this operation begins to work in the soul ? "

" To avoid all ambiguity," I replied, " I must say in the first place, that they are greatly deceived, who believe that baptism with water is, in any sense, Gospel regeneration, or the new birth. It is only the visible sign of an invisible operation which must be wrought in the heart of every man

who hopes to be united to Christ, the living head of the true church. Whether infants are fit subjects for Christian baptism, or whether the ordinance was designed to be administered only to adults, is a question altogether foreign to the point I am now considering ; but the evidence that water baptism is not evangelical regeneration, is, I think, substantiated by the fact, that there are numberless individuals, both in this and other countries, who have received the ordinance, but who are still strangers to the new birth, and consequently strangers to the Spirit's influence, and strangers to Christ."

"*Eounate nao—It is true ;*" interrupted the Etchegua ; an answer that was evidently very unexpected to the crowd of priests by whom we were surrounded. "It appears indeed," I continued, "from numerous facts narrated in sacred history, especially from the parable of the householder, (Matt. xx.) who sent out every hour in the day, to hire laborers into his vineyard, that regeneration takes place at every period of life ; some are brought into the kingdom in the morning of their days, while others are left till the shadows of age have gathered around them."

"One question more," he continued ; "how is regeneration wrought in the soul ? or what is the specific mode of the Spirit's operation in producing this change ?"

"It appears," I replied, "that Jesus himself was not able to convey in human language any adequate idea of the mode of this wonderful transformation ; how much less shall I be able to express it, especially in your language, with which I am but partially acquainted. But by carefully comparing the different passages of Scripture which relate to this mys-

terious subject, I think I can make you understand in what manner and how far it may be explained. It usually makes its first appearance\* in a lively and impressive sense of the hatefulness of sin, and of the depths of moral pollution into which the sinner has been by nature plunged. This pungent feeling of grief and ill-desert brings the sinner into the dust, and compels him to seek for pardon as a depraved and convicted criminal, who feels that he richly merits eternal death. In this condition, the same Spirit which removed the veil from his eyes, and disclosed to his astonished gaze his spiritual guilt and wretchedness, leads him to the foot of the cross, and there makes him understand the wonderful truth that Christ was made sin—a *curse* for man, a sinner and accursed—so took the blow of Divine justice upon himself, that ‘whoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life.’ The sinner, believing this glorious promise, and seeing himself bought with blood, saved by pure grace, begins to love his Saviour because he first loved him; and this absorbing love for his Lord, and interest in his cause, relaxes his grasp on the world, dislodges from his bosom all delight in the trifles of time, and removes the fear of the threats and reproaches of men, so that he becomes a new creature; he loves what he formerly hated, and hates what he formerly loved. This becomes the unfailing source of good works, sending forth its rich and fertilizing streams as the spontaneous gushings of a grateful heart. True, this is but a feeble description—the bare outline of the commencement and progress of regeneration in the soul, but it

\* Gobat, in this description of regeneration, includes the whole process of conviction and conversion.



is all that I can give you. Indeed, no better illustration of this mysterious operation can be conceived, than that which Christ has given us in the third chapter of John; ‘The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, nor whither it goeth.’ So every man who becomes the subject of renewing grace, is persuaded that he is born again by the change in his moral feelings, as he is assured that the wind is sweeping field and forest when he hears its roar.”

When I had finished these remarks, there was a long pause—a deep stillness pervaded the whole house. At length the Etchegua inquired, “When Christ shed his blood for sin, was it his humanity only, or did his divinity likewise suffer death?”

“This,” I replied, “is a difficult question to solve, and if the Word of God had not given us a few feeble glimmerings of light respecting it, I should entirely despair of answering it. But I think we may gain some information from the apostles. St. Paul says to Timothy that God is *immortal*; and St. Peter asserts that Christ suffered *in the flesh*; two declarations, which I deem sufficient to give me confidence in forming the opinion that our Saviour suffered only in his human nature. Besides, whenever the Scriptures speak of the love of God to us, every one must have observed, how this attribute is magnified and extolled, from the simple consideration, that Jesus became man, to enable him to suffer and die for our redemption.”

“This,” said the Etchegua, “precisely accords with our opinions; but if it was his human nature only that suffered death, what was that which was born of the Virgin Mary?”

"This is also a question," I resumed, "of extreme difficulty, because God has nowhere seen fit to explain it in his Word. Great contention and confusion, and consequently, great bitterness of feeling, have ever rent the church in relation to this subject, owing to that restless spirit in man, prompting him to penetrate those deep mysteries which Infinite Wisdom has never chosen to reveal. I am willing, however, to give you my views on this obscure point, and then you can judge for yourself. It appears to me that nothing can be more natural, than to believe that that portion of the incomprehensible person of Jesus Christ which was born in time, was that also which finally experienced the agonies of dissolution. Besides, reason infallibly teaches us that the mother must exist previously to the son ; but we know that Mary did not exist before Jesus Christ was God. Hence, I conclude that it is a most egregious error to call Mary the *mother of God*, notwithstanding the high respect I entertain for her, the most blessed of women. I think it sufficient honor, to call her the *mother of Jesus*, an appellation sometimes given her by the Apostles."

"This must be true, this must be true ;" said the Etchegua, "I have always entertained the same views."

I think that no one of the crowd around us had anticipated such an answer from the Etchegua ; at least they appeared exceedingly astonished and troubled. Before we separated, he made several other inquiries relative to England and France ; also, concerning our mode of celebrating divine worship, the administration of baptism, the Lord's Supper, and the rite of circumcision.

I could not observe that our conversation left any un-

pleasant effect on the mind of the Etchegua ; on the contrary, I should judge from his appearance, that he was rather pleased ; and for myself, I must say, that I was never before able to speak the Amharic with so much facility. Indeed, the Lord is ever present to assist our infirmities, and ready to give him who needs, a tongue to plead his cause. I gave the Etchegua a copy of the Four Gospels, with the privilege of sending it to any district out of Gondar, that he pleased. I also gave him a copy of the book of Acts, and of the Epistle to the Romans, in Amharic, and one of the Psalms in Ethiopic ; all of which he received with manifest pleasure. The marks of confidence which I evinced towards him on the present occasion, also appeared to give him unfeigned satisfaction.

On my return from the residence of the Etchegua, I met Habeta Selasse, who was on his way to visit me, in company with four of his fellow-disciples. During their stay, our conversation was directed principally to the worship of images and the invocation of saints. Habeta Selasse's views apparently coincided with my own, when I gave it as my opinion, that Mary was a sinner, stained by the same moral defilement that belongs to all, and that she was saved by the same unmerited grace by which we ourselves are saved ; and consequently we ought not to adore her, or implore her assistance or protection in times of need. Selasse did not appear, however, to take a deep interest in the discussion, not saying much on either side of the question.—My conversation with the Etchegua this morning seems to have produced quite a sensation ; several, who have called upon me this evening, state that it is much talked of throughout the city.

25th. I was favored this morning with quite a number of visits; several from young men who were desirous that I should devote some portion of my time to their instruction. And here let me say, that the instruction of youth should form a prominent object of missionary enterprise in Abyssinia. The aged are deeply incrustated in prejudice; it seems almost a hopeless effort to undertake the improvement, or endeavor to alter the opinions of those who are far advanced on the current of life. The stream has become too impetuous to be checked or turned by any ordinary obstruction. Some obstacles, however, stand in the way of an easy or successful organization of schools in this country; not but that as many might, at any time, be established as could be furnished with adequate teachers; the main difficulty lies in the fact, that, with the exception of a very few, the scholars who put themselves under the superintendence of the schools, must be fed and clothed at the expense of those who have the benevolence to found them. But all things considered, it is an enterprise well worthy the patronage of the church; such institutions would be like beacon fires on the mountains of Abyssinia, shedding their light afar; they would exert a refining and elevating influence on the masses, and thus prove the surest means of raising up an order of intelligent men, free from the prejudices and superstitions of their countrymen.

I had considerable conversation on a variety of topics with all my visitors, and read to them numerous passages of scripture, varying with the different subjects on which we discoursed. Some of them appeared very much surprised, and most of them expressed the greatest satisfaction,

that they could easily comprehend the import of what was read ; a circumstance, which rendered the exercise entirely different from what they were in the habit of listening to in their churches. In these, the language in which the Scriptures are read, is seldom understood by the reader himself ; never by the hearers.

Habeta Selasse called upon me this afternoon to express the great uneasiness which he experienced yesterday, on hearing me affirm, in the presence of many people, that the Virgin Mary was a sinner. " I beg of you," said he, " confine this opinion to your own bosom. You can dispute without restraint upon most other points concerning which you entertain different views from the Abyssinians, but do not develop your belief that the Virgin Mary was a sinner ; for, in this manner, you may awaken a prejudice against yourself, which, to say the least, will procure you many enemies. As for myself, I can say that your opinion differs from my own, only in that I cannot believe she ever sinned *willingly*. This point, indeed, is the splitting edge of two existing parties in the country ; a few believing with us, that Mary was a sinner ; but the Etchegua and Alaca Waldab are horror-struck at the idea. They cannot admit the notion into their creed, because, say they, if Mary was a sinner, the body of Jesus being born of her, must necessarily partake of her nature, and consequently cannot be regarded as entirely immaculate or pure. So I entreat you not to agitate this disputed point."

I replied ; " My dear friend, I am extremely grateful for the deep interest you take in my welfare, especially since our opinions are so nearly coincident with reference to this



important point; you having recently acknowledged that the various texts of Scripture which I presented to your consideration, incontestably prove that Mary was not altogether free from sin. But the truth is, you have not yet drank sufficiently deep of the spirit of liberty, or in other words, the Holy Spirit has not wrought in your heart with sufficient efficiency, to inspire you with courage to break away from the shackles of pride, and confess your sentiments before the world. But do not exact of me the same timidity; ask not that I should speak in a manner contrary to the real convictions of my heart. If the homage which you render to the Virgin Mary and to deceased saints was not in truth idolatrous worship, a homage, based on the pretended sanctity of certain privileged persons of the human race—beings, originally sunk as low in moral corruption as ourselves, I would avoid coming into collision with, or offending those who may ignorantly believe that such is their duty. But regarding the practice as I do, fraught with impiety, and highly dishonorable to God, I cannot promise entire or uninterrupted silence. All I can promise, is, that I will not at present designedly provoke discussion on this subject; but if any one, whether the Etchegua or any other person, shall demand my views, I shall state them frankly. I cannot play the hypocrite.”

He rejoined, “I can reasonably ask no more, but I hope you will express yourself mildly as possible.” He then proposed several questions concerning the nature of Deity, the manner in which the divinity is united with the humanity in the person of Jesus Christ, and other kindred inquiries, altogether too subtle and misty to admit of any clear

or satisfactory solution. I did not attempt it. I felt bound to acknowledge my ignorance, frankly saying, "I do not know. God has not made such abstruse points the subject of revelation in his Word, and it is impossible for us to know more of God or his inexplicable attributes, than he has been pleased there to unfold."

Early' in the evening, the mother-in-law of Emmaha mentioned to me that she had been all day desirous of speaking with me, but seeing me so busily engaged with my numerous visitors, she had been deterred from preferring the inquiries she wished to make, fearing to weary me. "But," said she, "if it will not be too much for you, I will ask you one question, How can a man who is a sinner be justified before God?" As this is a fundamental point, I was glad to have the opportunity of explaining it. I therefore passed the evening very agreeably in conversation on the subject, with perhaps a dozen individuals, who were fortunately at my house. The Abyssinians make use of the same word to express the two ideas, *to be justified*, and, *to be saved*.

26th. Lej Oubea, the uncle, but inveterate enemy of Dejjaj Oubea, who is at present confined to his house by sickness, invited me this morning to call upon him. As he occupies a somewhat commanding position in society, having many warm friends, as well as many powerful enemies, I thought it prudent in my intercourse with him, to preserve as great a distance as possible without wounding his feelings. I therefore conversed with him through my domestic interpreter; but I was again compelled, as on a former occasion at the residence of the king, to remark the inefficacy, and indeed, the probable failure, that awaits the

missionary, who undertakes to preach the Gospel by means of an unchristian interpreter. In the present instance, as long as our conversation was directed to secular topics, my domestic faithfully interpreted the sentiments I advanced; but when religion became the theme of discourse, particularly so soon as I uttered anything which at all clashed with the religious prejudices of Oubea, it no longer seemed possible for him to speak the truth. Even when he knew that I understood him, he would endeavor to render his translation obscure and unintelligible, even by expressing himself in terms which he thought me unacquainted with, or by speaking with great rapidity. For example; Lej Oubea showed me an amulet which he had carried a long time about him, but which he said he had not full confidence in, because he did not know what it contained. A few sentences were inscribed upon it in Arabic characters. After I had deciphered the inscription, I told him it contained the first chapter and a few isolated passages from the Koran. My domestic interpreted, "It contains several excellent prayers, and numerous passages from the Word of God."

I then said; "Afterward follow a few prayers and congratulations to Mohammed."

He seemed a little puzzled here, not knowing how to translate the word Mohammed. But at length, said he, "There are also a few words which have reference to Mohammed."

I now added; "This is a Mohammedan amulet, and consequently you ought by no means to carry it about you; but even were it a Christian amulet, it could not be of the least service to you."

My interpreter translated ; “ It is an excellent thing, and you may be assured that so long as you carry it with you, you will find it an article of the greatest value.”

I could restrain myself no longer, and boldly observed in Amharic ; “ It is not of the least service to you, nor ever can be, either in this life or in that which is to come. If you would be saved, the Gospel is the only chart you need to study ; its holy dictates the only directory you need to follow.” Having closed this conversation, I retired.

On my return, I met a judge, surrounded by ten or a dozen of his servants, and clasping with both hands one of the copies of the Four Gospels I had previously distributed in the city. It is a custom among the Abyssinians, whenever they feel great respect for anything given them, however small it may be, to grasp it with both hands. For instance ; should one of the higher classes present a glass of beer, a mouthful of bread, or any other trifle, although it were nothing more than a needle, to one of inferior rank, the latter would receive it with both his hands.

I was intending to call upon Cantiba Cassai, but before I reached his house, I found him encompassed by a crowd, standing in the midst of the market. As soon as he saw me he came to meet me, and presenting his parasol, reproached me for not having sent, yesterday or Saturday, one of my servants to his house to congratulate him on his happy arrival—a return from an excursion which he had made the past week into the territories of Oubea, for the sake of pillaging a district belonging to his enemy.

“ Do not be displeased,” said I, “ if I only rejoice privately at home, on account of your prosperous return ; it was sim-

ply because I did not wish publicly to congratulate you, till I was convinced that your proceedings were in accordance with justice."

"Yes, I can speak with confidence on this point; my conduct has been in accordance with justice. Hence, the Lord has been pleased to return me in peace. I am by no means a personal enemy to Oubea, but as such, he recently pounced upon a village in the vicinity of Gondar, belonging to my jurisdiction, and wantonly plundered it; and I went only to recover what was lawfully my own"

"I am happy to learn this fact from your own mouth; I had just been informed that such was the case by others; and, as you see, am now on my way to congratulate you in person, for the signal success that has crowned your late expedition."

"Well, well; let it pass; you always have a ready answer. Return to your house, far from the strife and turmoil of this warring world. Were it not for this numerous retinue which must constantly attend my steps, I would visit you daily; but I beg you to do me the favor of calling upon me often as convenient; you will always be welcome."

When crossing the market, I had more than I could do to answer the multitude of almost every class and description of persons who gathered around me, to offer their salutations, or to inquire if I recognized them. Numbers accompanied me even to the door of my house. Thus far the nephew of the Etchegua followed me, and then gave vent to the ebullitions of his natural heart, by remarking in the presence of many; "Education is not so valuable an acquisition as some suppose; knowledge corrupts the heart."



"Why then," said I, "did Christ say to his disciples in the 28th chapter of Matthew, 'Go ye and teach all nations?' Was it that he wished them to corrupt the hearts of men?"

"Well," said he, "does our father, the Etchegua, say, that one cannot propose a question to Samuel, which he will not readily answer with some appropriate passage of scripture."

27th. The weather has been extremely unpleasant to-day, so much so, that I have been deprived of the privilege of doing much good abroad. But I have received a number of visits from individuals belonging to the more ignorant and degraded classes of people, to whom I have read various passages of the Gospel. A number of priests of the same stamp also came, so illiterate, so low and grovelling in their feelings, so worldly and unspiritual in their views, that it was with the greatest difficulty that I could make them understand the simplest truths. I have observed, as a general fact, both in this country and in Egypt, that the priesthood, when they are ignorant and debased, are excessively so; being vastly inferior in vigor of mind and quickness of perception, to the more rude and uncultivated pagans. They have, however, a fund of management and covert tact, which enables them to conceal their ignorance from the simple and unwary, and by a kind of dishonorable shrewdness, they maintain their ascendancy over a few idiotic and illiterate people, with whom they are chiefly conversant. There are many, however, who, though without education, are endowed with discernment enough to discriminate between the craft of these besotted priests, and the worth of those who are more capable of instructing them, or, at least, more conscientious

in the discharge of their duties ; but they often purchase their wisdom at the costly price of experience. For instance ; to-day, after these ill-informed and degraded priests had retired, the wife of Emmaha said to me ; " I was glad you spoke so severely to them, they deserve it."

" Why ?" I inquired.

" Because they are entirely useless."

" Are not all priests useful according to their ability ?"

" I formerly thought so, and never indulged the least suspicion that all priests, without exception, were not the best, the holiest of men, till experience taught me the contrary."

She then related to me the dishonorable conduct of a priest, who basely attempted to corrupt her.

" But," said I, " all your priests are not such, I trust."

" No, I know they are not ; my experience can testify to the truth of this also. For since I have mentioned one fact which so strongly evinces their corruption, justice demands of me to mention another, which bespeaks their virtue, although the disclosure will cover me with confusion. I will freely tell you I once had to confess to my priest the crime of unfaithfulness to my husband. But instead of seizing the occasion as a favorable opportunity of again staining my virtue, he reprimanded me in the severest terms, and imposed upon me a rigorous and self-denying penance. His whole conduct towards me was subsequently changed ; he was more serious in his deportment, and guarded in his manner than before, and fully convinced me that he earnestly desired my salvation. I offered him money, wishing to commute my penance for a fine, but he

would not accept it. But let me say, notwithstanding my misdemeanor, so flagrant in its nature and deleterious in its tendency, I never loved any man as I do my husband."

This woman is adorned with an assemblage of virtues. Indeed, whatever may have been her past conduct, she seems now to unite in her character almost all the excellencies which can distinguish humanity in a state of ignorance and mental degradation. She is patient under restraint, submissive even to those who have no lawful right to exercise authority over her, kind to the unfortunate, affectionate and devoted to the welfare of her parents, correct in her deportment, industrious in her habits, with a disposition uniformly quiet and contented. She always procured for me whatever I needed with the greatest readiness; apparently more solicitous to gratify me than to supply her own necessities. She, however, couples with her anxiety for my convenience and the gratification of my desires, a becoming prudence; frequently going to the distance of half a league to purchase articles which could have been more easily, though less cheaply procured in her immediate neighborhood. I one day said to her, "I fear you will weary yourself in doing so much for my comfort."

"It is not for yourself," she replied, "but because of your condition, that I am willing to labor so much for you; when you first came here you were not known to us, you were an entire stranger, and our Lord has commanded us to be kind to strangers. This gives me comparatively little concern; what gives me the greatest trouble, and pierces me with pain whenever I think of it in connection with my sin and unworthiness, is the desire to be saved."

At another time I said to her ; “ I know not how I shall ever recompense you for all the kindness you have shown me, and for all the fatigue I have caused you.”

She replied ; “ If you can persuade my husband to remain at home with me, it will be recompense enough. I will ask nothing more.” I remarked that I should be very glad if she thought it would contribute to her happiness, to accomplish her wishes ; and indeed nothing could give me greater pleasure than to use my influence in bringing about an event so desirable, even had she not rendered me such marked attention ; but since her kindness to me had been so peculiar, I wished to give her something, which, while it should add to her comfort, would also awaken a remembrance of my gratitude.

“ If you think it your duty,” said she, “ to make me some small present as a memento of your gratitude, I cannot think of anything that would be more serviceable to me than a common frock.\* As for myself, I am well provided with every other article of necessary clothing, but my husband, although he labors diligently in the service of Sebagadis, is not able to lay up anything of consequence for himself, so that the expense of his wardrobe devolves partly upon me, and I wish to furnish him with a new suit previously to your departure. You see that we are now poor, but it was not always so with us. In the time of Ras Walda Selasse, we saw happier days ; my husband was his nephew, and we lux-

\* This frock is white, usually double, and the only article of dress worn by the females while laboring in the house ; when they go out, they throw over this a kind of mantle, called *chama* ; this is also the common dress of the men, with drawers and a girdle.

uriated in abundance ; but since his death our wealth has vanished. Yet even if my husband would not indulge the hope of again arriving at distinction, we might still live in competence and ease. My father and mother were of good families, and left me property enough, though it is at present unproductive. I own extensive tracts of land, rich, and capable of yielding abundant crops, lying in the vicinity of Gondar, and in the provinces of Dembea and Balessa. The soil of three entire villages belongs to me, as well as several smaller sections ; but in the present condition of affairs, when strife and bloodshed are rife among us, and devastation is sweeping with desolating fury over our country, how can a female take charge of large agricultural estates ? If Emmaha would remain with me, and take the superintendence of my possessions, we should have an abundance of everything. But he is inclined to a different course, and therefore neglects my lands and leaves me. He sometimes, however, desires me to go with him to Tigre, but I cannot do this, because I do not like to leave my mother alone. Besides, I know that I could not be much with him, as he spends a great part of his time in going from one place to another, in the service of Sebagadis, and consequently I should be more lonely and unhappy than at home."

28th. I called this morning at the residence of Cantiba Cassai, but did not find him at home ; he set forward yesterday with his whole army for the province of Dembea. The immediate cause of this unexpected eruption I have not been able accurately to ascertain, but I conclude it was nothing more than the impulse of sudden alarm, for I have understood, that last evening, the whole city was thrown into a



panic, though I knew nothing of it until this morning. Those who possessed any amount of property, immediately seized their effects, and retired to the quarters of the Etchegua, or to their churches. Similar fears are entertained this evening.

This fever of excitement which now pervades the city, is occasioned by the rumor, that the governor of the province which was last week plundered by the army of Cantiba Cassai, has called Dejj Sedat to his aid, and is madly bent on vengeance. Dejj Sedat is the governor of an independent district lying to the west of Walcaït. He has the reputation of being a distinguished warrior; the country rings with his name, and the people stand in the greatest awe of him. It is said that war is his element, that nothing pleases him better than strife and pillage; though at the same time, he is reported to possess a brave and noble spirit, and to be an excellent governor in his district. Gondar is unable to resist his force, and consequently everybody is prognosticating fearful events; the confusion and ravage of a plundered city.

About noon I received a visit from Habeta Selasse. We engaged, for the first time, in a regular course of argument, concerning the invocation of saints. This led me to speak of the characteristics of genuine faith; and I remarked that I thought there was very little of it existing in Abyssinia.\*

"How," said Selasse, "will you prove this?" "I will prove it," I replied, "not from the conduct of the ignorant and decidedly vicious among you, but from a part of your religious worship itself. Recently, in that fearful conflagra-

\* The Abyssinians always say they have faith, but not works.

tion which reduced a portion of your city to ashes, I frequently heard, amidst the din and tumult, the voice of prayer ascending to St. Michael, St. George, Abuna Técla-Haimanot; and only here and there the cry for deliverance to the God of heaven. Would it have been so if the people had felt in their bosoms the promptings of genuine faith in God? I think not; if we have true faith in him, our souls will go out after him; we shall call upon him in the hour of darkness and distress, as he has commanded in the 55th Psalm."

"Very well," said he, "we believe, as well as you, that all blessings come primarily from God, but we believe that the saints intercede with him for us, and as they are in a peculiar sense the friends of their Heavenly King, he listens to their intercessions in our behalf."

"I will ask you one very simple question. When, for instance, you pray to St. Michael, do you believe he is everywhere present to hear you, and to grant the desired favor?"

"No; we do not believe he is everywhere present, but we believe that as soon as he is invoked, he comes where we are, and fulfils our petitions."

"But," said I, "supposing thousands of people, dispersed into as many different parts of the world, were offering up their requests at the same instant, could your saint be present in all these several places to grant the requisite assistance?"

He hesitated for a moment, hardly knowing what to say; at length he replied,—“No; I do not think he could listen to them all at the same moment, for this would render him omniscient, equal to God himself, which I by no means be-

lieve. I maintain that God makes known to them the petitions of the suppliant, and that he in reality does all that is requested of the saint."

"That is to say, you honor the servant in order to procure the assistance of the Master."

"Not exactly so. We believe that God has made an immutable covenant with the saints, in consequence of which union, the honor rendered to them he regards as rendered to himself."

"Can you find any proof of this," I inquired, "in the Word of God?"

"Did not Jesus Christ say to his disciples, that whatsoever good thing one should do to his saints, he would regard as done to himself?"

"Yes," I replied, "but he said it to all Christians indiscriminately, the least of his brethren, as well as the greatest—those who have but tasted, as well as those who have drank deepest into his heavenly spirit; and you must also recollect that this was spoken to those who were on earth, and not to those who had entered upon their everlasting rest; for the saints in heaven stand in no need of any good thing that man can bestow upon them. Besides, it is nowhere said that he who invokes the creature, by this act, invokes the Creator; on the contrary, St. Paul severely reprimands the Romans for this identical sin, because they had robbed the Creator of that honor which is alone his due, and impiously bestowed it upon the creature."

"But we pray to the saints," resumed Selasse, "because we feel that we are wretched, depraved, and polluted sinners, and consequently, unworthy to approach into the

presence of Infinite Purity. Did not the Israelites experience similar feelings? and did they not entreat Moses to speak for them to God, so that he might not speak to them directly?"

"But without saying anything in regard to the difference existing between a present individual and a departed, *absent* spirit, I would inquire, who were those that preferred this request to Moses?"

"The children of Israel."

"Yes; those whose carcasses fell in the wilderness; and why did they fall? Why could they not enter into the promised land? Has not St. Paul told us, in his epistle to the Hebrews, iii. 19?"

"Because of their unbelief," he instantly replied.

"Then you imitate these unbelievers; is it not just as I told you?"

"It is true," said he; "you must be correct. If we have genuine faith in God, we shall go to him for succor. Yet there is some reason on our side of the question; when one of the common people wishes to present himself before the king to sue for some favor or privilege, is it not suitable for him to prefer his request through one of the king's favorites?"

"True, but what do you infer from this?"

"We think it is equally proper for us to make known our requests to God through the intervention of his saints, and this is the reason we invoke them."

"Your argument at first thought," I rejoined, "appears very plausible—ostensibly springing from sincere humility; but it is not so; it is in truth only a germ growing out of

the rankest unbelief, as I will soon convince you. The position you have taken is nothing new to me; it is the stronghold of the Franks, (Catholics) and all the various sects who believe in the intercession of the saints. I therefore beg your serious and candid attention, while I endeavor to disclose the fallacy of this vaunted argument, and convince you that if it proves anything, it proves too much; it proves that you, who adopt the sinful practice, are in reality unbelievers, and destitute of the true knowledge of God. In the first place, what is the character and condition of those who need the intercessions of a favorite to present their case to a superior? They are usually personal strangers to him, and he to them. Then he resides at the magnificent houses of the great, shut up from common intercourse and free commerce with the world, and one cannot approach him, nor make himself heard without traversing passages sedulously guarded by his watchful servants. But it is not so with God; he is omnipresent. In approaching the saints, you must, so to speak, pass directly by your Saviour. Let us imagine, for a moment, that the king you just supposed were present in this room, and should kindly say to you, 'My dear friend, I wish you no evil, I wish you every comfort—every happiness.—Unbosom to me your whole heart—tell me all your sorrows, every pain; I will ease your pains and satisfy your desires. Be perfectly free; speak without the least restraint or fear; I am your friend, your brother.' Now, if instead of accepting this gracious overture, you should directly turn your back to him, and call upon one of his servants, or if you please, his favorite, and say to him, 'Sir, I wish you to intercede for me with your



master,' would not the servant himself become your accuser? And the master, instead of looking upon you with complacency, or listening to your request, charge you with open contempt of his gracious proffer, and as being actuated by the most ungrateful unbelief?"

"This must be true," said he.

"Very well, then you will condemn yourself, for you acknowledge that God is everywhere present, do you not?"

"Most certainly."

"You acknowledge likewise that the saints are *not* everywhere present?"

"I do."

"This," I resumed, "is all I wish you to grant on this point. But observe, this God who is everywhere present, has, in his Word, shown his willingness to hear and bless the sinner, explicitly declaring that he does not desire his death, but that he would turn and live. Jesus is also represented in Luke xv. as being the friend of sinners, and in Hebrews ii. as the brother of man. He invites those "who labor and are heavy-laden," to come to him, accompanying the invitation with the cheering promise that he will alleviate their sorrows, and give rest to their souls; and that no one might think himself excluded from his kindness and love, he has given, John vi. 37, that universal invitation; *Him that cometh to me, I will in no wise cast out.* But what gives the death-blow to your doctrine, is a passage in the second chapter of 2d Timothy; *There is but one mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus.*"

"This is a new thought to me," he replied. "But I think you have established your position. I will acknowledge

that the doctrine of the invocation of saints has its origin in a want of faith, and the practice must be confessed a sin, especially in those who are well instructed in the oracles of truth; but in the ignorant, where love to God is the grand principle, the ruling motive from which it flows, I cannot deem the usage criminal."

"I only intended," I returned, "to convince you that the invocation of saints is the result of unbelief; but since you have opened the way, I will advance a step farther, and prove to you, both from Scripture and experience, that the usage evinces also an entire destitution of *love* to God. For he has told us, John xiv. 23, '*If any man love me, he will keep my words.*' Now his word teaches us to go to Jesus, and cast all our burdens on him, confidently telling him our cares and anxieties, and not to go to the saints, for he has elsewhere said, Jeremiah xvii. 5th, '*Cursed be the man that trusteth in man.*' Experience also teaches us, when we love any one, especially when we are confident that he warmly returns our affection, it is not with his servant we delight to take counsel, and talk over our hopes and fears, when we can enjoy the higher privilege of exchanging thoughts and feelings with the immediate object of our affection. It is not from his servant we crave relief in danger, or assistance in misfortune; it is from the master himself."

"Well, so it is," said he; "you have refuted me on every point; but I must be going; I only intended calling upon you for a moment, and returning in season to assist Alaca Waldab in a lecture which he is this instant to commence. Adieu."

29th. I was engaged till noon in making visits of cere-

mony, and afterwards received a number of the same character, during which I contrived to have several chapters of the Gospel read, and considerable religious instruction given. Tecla Selasse, a relative of the king, called upon me, and gave me some account of the martial exploits, and civil policy of the Abyssinian kings in times past, and the ancient practice of imprisoning the members of the royal family. But it is not necessary to give the details of his interesting story; those who wish to inform themselves in regard to these matters, can peruse the accounts already presented to the public by Bruce and Ludolf. It is now about thirty years since this inhuman custom of confining the princes was discontinued.

30th. The whole of this morning, my house was overflowing with people, and among the rest were a number of priests, who propounded to me divers questions, dwelling particularly upon this, which is ever the first for ecclesiastics to propose, viz.: to which of the Apostolic Sees we belong. I replied according to my usual custom when such inquiries are put to me, "St. Paul reproves the Corinthians for saying, *I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of Cephas*. So this division of sees, this pretended sanctity with which you invest one above another, and this interest and attachment which you entertain for one fraternity to the utter exclusion of all others, are the ruinous results of human corruption. Every man who possesses the spirit of St. Peter, will imitate him, and by consequence, will be his true successor, in whatever quarter of the world he may reside. The same is true of the successors of all the other apostles. But every bishop, and every priest, who cherishes a spirit

opposite to that of the apostles, is an enemy to God, and the servant of Satan, notwithstanding all the pretended sanctity he may have thrown around his chosen see." All seemed to be in some degree struck by these remarks, and looking upon each other, observed, "This appears rational." Then after a short pause, one of the priests said to me, "Our bishops do not seem so single-minded and detached from the world as the apostles were. You, and not they, are the consistent successor of the apostles; for they willingly endured suffering and encountered danger; they went from city to city, and from country to country, preaching the Word of God; and you, in imitation of them, have left your home and kindred, and have come into our country, distracted with war and depredation as it now is, to proclaim the glad tidings of the Gospel."

I replied; "I am very far from comparing myself with the self-denying Apostles of our Lord. But recollecting that they have commanded us, in their writings, to imitate them so far forth as they imitated Christ, and, convinced as I am that those, who do not endeavor habitually to tread in their steps, are walking the broad road to everlasting perdition, I sincerely desire to copy their example."

They also inquired if our churches were dedicated to any particular saint, such, for instance, as St. George, or St. Michael. I told them that formerly, when our fathers were wrapped in the thick clouds of darkness and superstition, they were uniformly in the habit, as the Abyssinians now are, of dedicating their churches to some saint or patron; but since the glorious light of the knowledge of the blessed God, blazing from his sacred Word, has risen upon them;



since they have learned that saints and angels are but servants of God like themselves, and that the least religious homage paid to any other being than our rightful Lord and Sovereign is rank idolatry—is sin—they have ceased to dedicate their churches, as well as the days of the week, to saints, and consecrate them to God alone.

I gave a copy of the Four Gospels to Alaca Fanta, with which he appeared highly pleased. This afforded me a favorable opening for addressing the priests, and I earnestly exhorted them in their religious communications with the people, to inculcate no principles but such as are drawn from the oracles of God; endeavoring vividly to portray before their minds, the imminent peril they incur by imbibing and teaching the doctrines of men, in a matter of such vast importance; because, that upon the religious doctrines we embrace, depends the salvation or ruin of our deathless souls.

After this crowd of people had dispersed, I walked out, and called upon the governor, Cassai, whom I found distributing a small basket of barley bread to his half famished soldiers, each one receiving the merest trifle. He told me that he was compelled to suffer hunger himself, in order to provide even a pittance for the sustenance of his servants. On my return, I asked my domestics if they were hungry, it being then about three o'clock in the afternoon, and we had taken nothing since morning. One of them replied; "When we set out on our walk, I felt some disposition to eat; but since witnessing such famine as I have just seen at the house of the governor, I have lost my appetite." While I was talking with one of my neighbors at the residence of the Cantiba, the latter took the opportunity of con-



versing with his attendants respecting me. He very softly said to them; "How does this man appear to you? For my part, whenever I see him, I always have to ask myself, 'Is it really a man that I see, or is it an angel?' I have seen many white men before; but I never saw one who would at all compare with this man." Another remarked; "If I should meet him in a field alone, I should flee for my life, fearing I should die." A third said; "Those flowing locks which rest upon his shoulders, that long red beard, glistening as it falls from his chin, and that clear, transparent countenance, render him, certainly in appearance, superior to the Archangel Michael."

May 1st. It has been quite rainy to-day; consequently, I have not ventured much abroad, and have received but one visit at home. Habeta Selasse called, and passed considerable time with me. We conversed principally upon the nature and design of fasts. I think he is at length convinced, that a fast, to be either acceptable or useful, must be voluntary; that we should come to the duty with a lively sense of our wants and wretchedness, a feeling that shall so penetrate our souls, and swallow up every other interest, that we can take no pleasure in delights and vanities of an earthly nature; in a word, that it must be accompanied with earnest, importunate prayer for blessings of which we feel the perishing need, either for ourselves or others. But as soon as we regard the act of fasting as a meritorious work, it becomes a sin; and in this respect the fasts of the Abyssinians may be regarded as generally displeasing to God. The contemplation of this subject led us to the discussion of the important doctrine of justification through faith. We, however, do not

differ so widely in relation to this topic as on some others; for it is worthy of remark, that the Abyssinians, in theory at least, are far less opposed to this fundamental doctrine of Christianity than the Papists or Greeks, although in practice, I suppose the hearts of men are everywhere equally opposed to this only way of escape for ruined sinners. Habeta Selasse advanced nothing which could be considered as decidedly against the doctrine, though it is evident he does not clearly understand it. He respects St. Paul, and does not seem disposed to dispute his statements or refute his principles; still, truth does not shine upon him with unclouded beam. So true is it, that notwithstanding all the explanations that can be given to the morally blind, this doctrine is never received in its full import, till by happy experience, they can make a spiritual application of it to themselves.

There were no provisions in the market till a late hour in the afternoon; the caravans having been delayed by the storm, so that the evening arrived before we were able to procure any provisions. But as soon as the caravans arrived, the market being replenished, everything was sold extremely low, as low as is frequently the case in seasons of great plenty. I took advantage of the redundant supply, to furnish my table, and purchased a steer two years old for a single *talari*. Provisions have no fixed price at Gondar; everything is cheap or dear according as the market on Saturday is scantily or profusely supplied.

2d. *Sabbath*. I had the satisfaction of passing the greater part of the day in the study of the Scriptures. I was interrupted by no visits, excepting a short one from Habeta

Selasse. He complained of the long and somewhat tedious expositions he sometimes found attached to passages of Scripture—passages, the import of which appeared to him as clear as the noonday. Our conversation was rather desultory; we confined ourselves to no particular subject or course of argument; but we took up the Gospel, and perused with attention a number of chapters.

3d. Early in the morning, Ozoro Waleta Teclit sent for me to visit her brother, who for a few months past has been in a state of mental derangement. This excellent woman is at present the first lady in Gondar. She is sister to the deceased Dejj Marou, and mother of the young warrior Dejj Comfou, governor of the provinces of Coura and Dembea. With the view of driving from him the demons of which she supposes him possessed, she has called at her house most of the priests of Gondar to offer up prayers for his relief. A few are constantly employed in reading near him; but they have the good sense to accompany the exercises with a generous application of cold water, which they frequently sprinkle upon his breast. I had seen him a day or two previous, and the observations I then made, agreeing with what I now discovered, I satisfied my mind as to the nature of his disease. I accordingly told his sister that I did not think him under the influence of any enchantment or evil spirit, but that, in my opinion, his malady arose from too great a pressure of blood. She, as well as the monks and nuns that her kindness had gathered around him, incredulously shook their heads, and as I did not wish to offend them, I avoided pressing the point; I only added, that if she could satisfy herself that it was best to take a

little blood, I should be very happy to perform the operation, whenever such a desire on her part should be made known to me. She continued three days longer to employ the reading of the priests, all of whom persevered in affirming that he was possessed. At length, finding that all their enchantments produced no favorable effect on the disease, she yesterday morning sent for me. But I refused then to comply with her request, not only because it was the Sabbath, but because, on mature reflection, I did not wish to evince undue eagerness in opposing the priests in matters of a secular nature. I returned her word, however, that I would call to-day if she desired it. At an early hour this morning, therefore, she sent three of her servants, desiring me to visit her brother, and prescribe for him whatever, in my judgment, might prove beneficial for his restoration. I accordingly went, and for the purpose of winning his affections and gaining his confidence, I first said to him, "My opinion of your disease differs entirely from that of others; everybody is persuading your sister that you are possessed; I alone believe and tell her the contrary. They wish to convince me that this is the case, by pointing to your eyes, which appear red and surcharged; but if you will permit me to draw a little blood, I shall hope to satisfy them that you are no more possessed than themselves. It is in consequence of too great a quantity of blood, that your eyes are thus bloodshot and heavy." He, forthwith directing all his unsuccessful exorcists to retire, said to me, "You are indeed my only friend—do for me whatever you think proper; I repose the utmost confidence in you." I immediately opened a vein, and he seemed to enjoy himself highly



under the operation, in throwing jets of blood on those collected around him. Soon after the blood began to flow, when, perhaps, he had lost a pound, the women began to weep and cry out, "*It is enough, it is enough.*" But perceiving that their conduct was displeasing to me, he said to them in an imperious tone, "Don't trouble yourselves; keep silence; this man is my friend, and he best knows what I need; besides, I begin already to feel that the operation is doing me good." After I had taken from three to four pounds of blood, and just as he was about to swoon, I ordered him to be taken to his bed, recommending his attendants to treat him with mildness, and to leave him for a time to uninterrupted repose.

This afternoon I received a visit from a servant of the king of Shoa, who, for some time past, has favored me with frequent calls. He came to bid me adieu before his departure to rejoin his master, which takes place to-morrow. I entrusted to him a copy of the Four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistle to the Romans, together with a short letter, to present to the king, Sehela Selasse. I also gave him a copy of the Four Gospels for his own use, with the permission of presenting it to whomsoever he pleased, provided the object of his bounty resided within the limits of the kingdom of Shoa. I also gave a copy to one of the relatives of the king, who has frequently visited me.

4th. At early dawn this morning, I received an invitation from Ozoro Waleta Teclit to call upon her. I immediately obeyed the summons, and as soon as I entered the door, she met me, and said in the presence of a large concourse of people, "I have sent for you, sir, that I might have the op-



portunity of showing you my sincere gratitude for the kindness you have rendered my brother, in mitigating his painful illness. Since you saw him yesterday, they tell me he is decidedly better ; that he appears as composed as though his mind had never been bewildered. Now, whatever you advise me to do for him, I will most cheerfully do it. Do you think he can be unchained with safety ?”

I replied, “This disorder undoubtedly arose from too plentiful a supply of blood, and the bleeding has consequently proved beneficial to him ; but I assure you I have not performed the operation without accompanying it with earnest prayer to God, that he would render the means efficacious ; and especially have I entreated him effectually to remove the veil from your mind, and cause you to see that the teachings of the priests are not always to be relied upon. Take this,” I continued, reaching her the Gospel ; “this will give you a knowledge of truths which will never fail.” She eagerly took it, kissing it again and again. I then said to her, “I have not seen your brother since yesterday morning, but whatever may be the present state of his health, I shall not deem it advisable to take off his chains till you have seen him ; for during the prevalence of his disease, you were the peculiar object of his aversion.”

“The task you assign me,” said she, “is indeed painful, for I know he will load me with reproaches before all who may chance to be with him ; but since such is your pleasure, I will not hesitate to comply.” She then ordered all present to withdraw, and said to me in a private manner, “You are the only one who has correctly understood the malady of my brother, a circumstance, which gives me great confidence

in you. I will therefore frankly state to you my own case. I am frequently afflicted with a disorder in my head, which extremely confuses me, and sometimes almost robs me of my reason. So high does my malady sometimes rage, that I am forced to retire from public view, lest I should expose myself to the charge of madness, or, at least, of folly and indiscretion. Do you think that bleeding would be serviceable to me?" After inquiring into the origin, or the probable cause of her disease, I told her I rather doubted whether physicians in Europe would recommend bleeding in her present situation, though I did not imagine it would do her any injury.

"Very well," said she; "please to call upon me to-morrow morning." I then called upon her brother, whom I found evidently in a state of convalescence; having improved considerably since yesterday. He was urgent to have me bleed him again, and especially desirous that I would unlock his chains. I promised to unshackle his hands to-morrow, and, if he should continue to mend till the next day, to unloose his feet. "Do it now," said he; "I will promise to be calm; I was out of my head, but since you bled me, my reason has returned, and I am as clear and composed as before." I then took my leave of him, and directed my steps to the residence of the Etchegua, whom I found alone. We were just entering upon an interesting conversation, when we were unexpectedly interrupted by the arrival of several judges, who came to investigate a lawsuit upon which they were appointed to deliberate. The Etchegua told me that when he found himself again alone and at liberty, he would send for me. Immediately on my return to my lodgings, a

company of boys called upon me, begging a copy of the Gospel, that, as they said, their master might teach them the doctrines of Jesus Christ. I said a few words to them by way of exhortation, and sent them away with the desired treasure.

A poor man has just left me, who ventured, though with trembling, to ask for the Gospel, that he might be enabled to inculcate upon the minds of his children its holy precepts. When he received it, he was apparently overjoyed; he covered it with kisses; it seemed impossible for him to find terms sufficiently strong to express the high satisfaction he felt, in having at length received the object which he had so long and so ardently sought.

While I have been writing the above, the soldiers of Mariam have passed my door, having entered Gondar, as I suppose, with the intention of taking up their lodgings for the night. The soldiers under the government of Mariam are little better than so many thieves. The city, on their account, is in a perfect fever of excitement, every one trembling for the safety of his property. My men have taken the alarm, and have conveyed my effects to one of the churches; but for myself, I am determined to await the events of the night, trusting in the Lord.

5th. Most of the people of Gondar slept last night in the churches, from fear of the soldiers, who, as I mentioned, passed my door just in the edge of the evening, though they did not, as was expected, encamp in the city. The furniture and provisions, however, which the people carried to the churches in the moment of excitement, have not been removed.

This morning, agreeable to her request, I called upon Ozoro Waleta Teclit, with the design of bleeding her; but as the vein could not be easily discovered, all her attendants struck in and opposed my doing it. For a time, I was not greatly in favor of proceeding myself; but at length undertaking it, I succeeded far better than I anticipated; a circumstance which led some to say they had some suspicion that I was the archangel Michael. After I had finished the operation, she requested me to visit her brother, and call upon her again on my return. I accordingly went, and found him apparently recovered and in his right mind; but I bled him again, because he desired it. This morning he drove from his house all the priests who, for sometime past have infested it, telling them that all his insanity was occasioned by them and his sister. "When my sister first caused me to be chained," said he to me, "I was not deranged, I was only intoxicated. But seeing everybody regard me as insane, and especially having my house crowded with priests, who were continually performing over me their conjurations, I must acknowledge that I soon became so, and that I was not perfectly sane the first time you saw me. I therefore willingly confess that I have been somewhat deranged; and since an insane man cannot be reasonably trusted as soon as he begins to recover, I will not demand the privilege of being liberated entirely, at present; I only desire you to request my sister to lengthen my chains, so that I can change my position more easily. I know not how I now stand with her, but she never offered to confine me until I told her my intention of going over to the side of Mariam, because I knew that both herself and son had



rendered themselves guilty of treason. She mistrusted, perhaps, that I should inform the Ras of her conduct, and she might have judged it expedient to make me pass for a madman, so that the Ras would not believe me. However, let this pass; but tell my sister if she will restore to me the government of the province, which she has taken from me, she may confidently rely on my fraternal love and regard. I will own, indeed, that being the friend of her son's enemy, I gave her some cause for removing me from my trust."

This afternoon, in agreement with her request, I again called upon Ozoro Waleta Teclit, whose house I found thronged with visitors. She had told all around her how much good the bleeding had done her. Every one present was now afflicted with some disease, and all, both small and great, desired to be bled. As there were many with whom I could converse only by means of an interpreter, I said but little to them; only exhorting them, in few words, to realize their spiritual malady, and to seek its only remedy in the blood of the new covenant. I saw one personage amid the crowd whose physiognomy struck me as peculiarly disagreeable. I made a few inquiries concerning him, and learnt enough that was vile in his character to justify the horror I felt on first observing him. He is uncle of Oubea, who was formerly much attached to him, but the cord has recently been severed. A short time since, some one slanderously told him that one of his concubines had held improper intercourse with a certain individual of his acquaintance, who had been aided in accomplishing his villanous design, by four accomplices, two men and two women. There were no witnesses of the nefarious act, but upon the simple evi-



dence of this ill-founded report, he arraigned the man and woman, together with the alleged abettors of their crime, and caused them to be mercilessly beaten ; and afterwards, as they would make no confession of their fault, cruelly put them to death with tortures which might well be termed, a refinement of barbarity. When Oubea heard of this outrage upon humanity, he was deeply affected, and exclaimed with tears ; “ How is it possible that such an act should be perpetrated under my government ? Go, measure out to him as he has measured out to others ;—suffer him not to live ; I can never see him again.” The report of Oubea’s threatening quickly spread abroad ; the criminal caught the alarm and took refuge in Gondar.

6th. The priest, who has charge of the young lads to whom I gave a copy of the Gospel a few days since, called upon me, with a number of his pupils, to thank me for the favor. I entreated them to seek the way of salvation as delineated in the Word of God.—An Alaca subsequently called upon me, with whom I had a long conversation, concerning the views and feelings with which we ought to read the Word of God, as contrasted with those which we ought to entertain in perusing the writings of men. He proposed several questions relative to our mode of celebrating divine worship, especially with respect to the administration of the Holy Supper. I interrogated him with regard to transubstantiation, and he answered me much as others have done ; “ After the bread and wine have been solemnly set apart, we call them the flesh and blood of Jesus Christ, so as not to confound them with ordinary bread and wine ; but we do not believe their nature to be in the least changed—we only be-

lieve that the communicants, in partaking of these elements, spiritually partake of the body and blood of our Redeemer." While we were conversing together, Habeta Selasse entered in company with several priests. He appeared melancholy and dejected, because, he said, he heard of nothing in the city but war and strife. "It is undoubtedly in consequence of our manifold iniquities as a people, that our country is now rife with confusion, and we lie beneath the scourge. We have many books; still we are illiterate. There are about three hundred persons in Gondar who can read, but the mass of the people are unlearned, and are as corrupt as they are ignorant. The early Christians had not so many books as we have, yet they were far better men. The simple truth, that *the Word became flesh*, was sufficient to kindle up in their bosoms a flame of love to God and goodwill to their neighbor."

"Formerly," I rejoined, "my ancestors in Europe neglected, as you now do, the Word of God, and foolishly followed the fables and devices of men. The country felt the effects of their follies and sins, and afforded but one commingled scene of ignorance, vice, and misery; but since their posterity have adopted the Word of God as their only rule of faith and practice, God has showered upon the land his choicest blessings. There are, indeed, multitudes of abandoned men still, who are crowding the broad road to ruin; but God has blessed the country for the sake of the few righteous men who dwell therein, according to his promise to his people of old, as recorded in the eighteenth chapter of Genesis. Indeed, I think you will always find it an invariable rule, that wherever those who bear the Christian name

endeavor to raise the works of men to a level with the instructions of inspired truth, the people will become a prey to corruption, and misery and ruin will sweep through the land. Such, you may expect, to a greater or less degree, will be the case in Abyssinia, so long as you confound the doctrines of men with the truths of God."

"But you must consider," said Selasse, "that we do not receive anything which is directly contrary to the Word of God."

"Grant that to be true," I continued, "and still your course is dangerous. I have already convinced you that the writings of men, especially since the fourth century, may be affirmed to abound with errors, and particularly is this true of your favorite work, *Oudasse Mariam of Ephraim*. On the present occasion, I shall avail myself of only a single argument, to unfold to you the prolific source of all that temporal and spiritual misery, which is now deluging your unhappy country. Supposing, indeed, that there were nothing, not a syllable in all the writings of the learned doctors in your church, that might be reasonably construed, in the least degree, at variance with the general tenor of the Word of God; you yourself acknowledge that they contain many things which are not to be found in the Bible, and that there is no proof that these novelties are divinely inspired. You must, therefore, necessarily entertain some *doubt* in regard to those instructions which they inculcate. But a doubt, you must be sensible, is inconsistent with that implicit faith, by which we are made conquerors over the world. See, for instance, Chrysostom, one of the best of men, and one whom I especially respect; did you not ac-

knowledge the other day that there are to be found in his writings many traces of self-love, if not positive marks of pride, not to say anything of certain extravagant speculations of his, so entirely at variance with the declarations of St. Paul concerning the freedom of the will? Did you not also acknowledge that in the works of Cyril of Alexandria, there were manifestly incorporated a carnal and worldly zeal, and a persecuting spirit? This, if you will throw your mind open to the light of truth, must convince you that these works, although they may be excellent and useful in other respects, are not the works of God, but the speculations of men. Now the word of man cannot penetrate the heart; it cannot change it; it is only the feeble expression of a feeble being. But *the word of God is quick and powerful, sharper than any two-edged sword*; it pierces and softens the heart; it illuminates the understanding, and is alone capable of correcting, instructing, and rendering us wise unto salvation. Now, do you not understand that all this blood, confusion, and misery, which you see, and so justly lament in Abyssinia, flow directly from that fountain of every evil;—deep ignorance of the Word of God?"

All the priests simultaneously exclaimed; "This must be true;" and Habeta Selasse remarked; "You are always undermining and shaking the confidence I have so fondly reposed in the writings of religious men; but your last remark has given the leveling blow. It has convinced me, that though they may be valuable in many respects, they are not armed, like the Bible, with power to convert the heart, and render men virtuous and happy."

After the priests had retired, Selasse said to me; "Since

you spoke to me on the subject of missions, the idea has been constantly impressed upon my mind, that I must go and preach the Gospel to the Gallas. You propose, I believe, to return for a season to your own country, though I think you said you intended to come again into Abyssinia, at the expiration of a year. Now I wish you to hasten your departure, and return again as speedily as possible. I will remain, meanwhile, at Gondar. I am very anxious to engage in a missionary enterprise among these savage tribes, in the company of yourself. If we go together, I think we cannot fail of being successful. There are many favorable traits in the character, and encouraging circumstances in the condition of the Gallas. They are indeed ignorant and uncultivated, but it will not be necessary to subvert before we can build up. They are fond of instruction, and disposed to believe the great truths of the Gospel, whenever judiciously unfolded to their view. In many respects, they are entirely unlike the Abyssinians." After this interview with Habeta Selasse, I received a number of visits; and among the rest, an interesting young man called upon me, to whom I gave a copy of the Gospel. For a considerable time past, he has called upon me almost every day, with the express intention of begging a copy of the sacred volume.

7th. This has been quite a wintry day. For several days past the weather has been rather uncomfortable, having been extremely wet and rainy. I should have been glad to have returned to Tigre before the setting in of winter, but the hostile armies of Mariam and Oubea being stationed on the route, the journey would be extremely hazardous, if not utterly impracticable. I have just been favored with a visit



from two of the servants of Beleta Darcopti, who informed me that when the governor of Gojam saw the copies of the Gospel which I sent him at Debra Tabor, he burst into tears, and directing his remarks to Beleta Darcopti, said; "Why did you fear to bring here a man whose only object was to furnish us with the Gospel in our own language? I would not have injured him; so far from it, I would have safely sheltered him from every danger."

8th. Last evening my house was thrown into a momentary state of excitement and alarm. The daughter of Emmaha was suddenly seized with a kind of spasms, or convulsion fits. She almost instantly lost her reason, and, besides the agitation that shook her limbs, she uttered frightful cries, which strikingly resembled the howlings of the hyena. This circumstance led the bystanders to conclude that she was under the influence of the *boudas*, or sorcerers; for it is a general opinion among the Abyssinians, that the greater part of hyenas are, in reality, metamorphized sorcerers. I tried to convince them that her disease was occasioned by no such agency; telling them that I no more believed her under the influence of the *boudas*, than myself. One of the priests present, at first seemed to coincide with me, though he afterwards insinuated that he thought it very possible she might be possessed by some evil spirit. As the first remedy, they began beating the poor girl, either with the intention of driving out the demon by which they supposed her influenced, or from some other motive unknown to me; but such conduct was too barbarous for me calmly to endure. I instantly drove every individual from the house except the mother. In about an hour, her reason re-

turned, and she was apparently restored. A few moments before there were any indications of returning health, her mother gave me several amulets to read; I told her they could produce no salutary effect on her daughter,—that they would be injurious, rather than useful. But she did not seem perfectly satisfied with my summary manner of disposing of them. While her daughter's convulsions continued to recur, I could clearly perceive, that she felt some uneasiness in having submitted her amulets to the decisions of my judgment; but as soon as her daughter had obviously recovered, she said to me: "It is well for me that you were present, for if you had not been here, some writer of amulets would undoubtedly have cheated me out of four or five *talaris* as the price of his crime."

The more I become acquainted with the character and condition of ignorant people, the more I am astonished that Europeans, men of pretended learning and sound sense, should think of maintaining that the savage and untaught are more happy than the better informed. When the Abyssinians, and, indeed, the greater part of colored people who have fallen under my observation, are in health, they are usually cheerful and happy; but let their health be in any manner impaired—let their blood cease to flow in its sprightly currents, or pain thrill their nerves, and their gayety is at an end. They become doubly wretched in consequence of the harassing idea that they have become the prey of sorcerers or evil spirits. Then the pains taken to procure something which may operate as a defence against these supernatural attacks must be a source of frequent trouble and vexation. For a poor man, indeed, it must be

a great sacrifice to part with ten or a dozen talaris to purchase an amulet, when, perhaps, to gain them, he has for a long time served with dread a capricious master. The Abyssinians believe that the Falashas or Jews, most Mussulmans, and some Christians, are sorcerers. Mussulmans, and many of the Jews, however, are not entirely exempt from these strange ideas ; for they live as much in fear of the *boudas*, as the Christians. I can easily conceive how that simple and uneducated people could be brought to believe in the influence of sorcerers ; but I am utterly astonished that such intelligent men as Mr. Bruce and Mr. Salt should have thought that they found in Abyssinia, evidence sufficient to induce them to believe such preposterous ideas as are here entertained in regard to the *boudas*. For my part, I have not as yet discovered anything which I could suppose capable of convincing a child.\*

I have not yet since my residence in Gondar, enjoyed an opportunity of seeing or conversing with one of the Falashas. I have frequently requested various individuals to introduce me to some one of them, who knew how to read. They have often promised me the favor, but have afterwards uniformly found some excuse for not doing so. The most that I know of them is, that they are generally reported to be an ignorant and besotted race, very few among them being able

\* They also regard as *boudas*, the Camountes, a small Pagan people inhabiting the mountains in the vicinity of Gondar. Some account has been given of this people in a subsequent part of this work. Little is known of the principles of their religion. They are somewhat similar to the Druses of Mount Lebanon, the word Druse in their language signifying Lord.

to read. It is said that they have no books in the Ethiopic but the Old Testament. I was informed the other day by a priest, that they emigrated to Abyssinia soon after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans.

I have had, to-day, a long conversation with Alaca Waca, on the justification of the sinner before God. Like other priests with whom I have previously conversed on this subject, he did not appear to be so much opposed to this fundamental doctrine of the Gospel, as the priests of other sects usually are, though his ideas were by no means clear or satisfactory. There were some passages in the Epistle of James, particularly the 17th and 26th verses of the 2d chapter, which appeared very much to trouble him. I endeavored to elucidate them, and repeated to him a number of texts from the writings of St. Paul, which I regarded as explanatory of the doctrine. He assented to my positions, and acknowledged that there was reason in what I said; but I plainly saw that he did not intend to depend upon me as his guide to truth. I subsequently received a visit from one of the friends of Oubea, Lic Atecou, who had this morning arrived from Antchatab. He told me he had seen the copy of the Gospel which I had given to Oubea, on the road near Gondar, and, on approaching the city, he resolved to call upon me before making any other visit. He remained with me only a short time, but he intimated that he might call often during his stay among us, and that he was desirous of having some conversation with me on a variety of topics.

9th. *Sabbath*. The whole of the day, from the dawn of the morning to the twilight of the evening, my house has been

thronged with visitors, because it is generally known in the city that I do not go abroad on the Sabbath. I know not how it has come to pass,—perhaps it has been owing to the peculiar frame of my own mind,—but for some reason, all our conversation has revolved around a single point,—that bright centre of hope to the guilty,—justification through faith. Almost every man and woman present had some question to propose concerning the wonderful method, by which a sinner, lost and ruined, can be justified before a righteous God. I always replied by some passage of Scripture which was decisive on the subject, carefully elucidating whatever I thought, to their beclouded minds, might need exposition. The Epistle to the Romans, which I have in Amharic, I find of the greatest use to me. This morning a woman called to tell me over her sorrows. “Seven months ago,” said she, “I held the rank of a noble lady, and enjoyed all the privileges and comforts of such a situation; but the scale is now turned against me. My son has been imprisoned, and every article of property has been rifled from me; and to deepen the affliction occasioned by these disasters, my health has ever since been extremely infirm. Have you any medicine which you can recommend as adapted to my case?” I replied, that I had not come into the country to heal the diseases of the body, and consequently I had not brought with me the appropriate remedies; but I directed her to God, in whom there dwells a fulness to satisfy all our wants, both spiritual and temporal; and who would willingly grant her all that solace which her bleeding heart required. She answered, while tears streamed down her cheeks; “I have tried to pray, but God has turned away his ear from



my request, because my soul is loaded with sin." Since such was the case, I entreated her to go immediately to God, crave the pardon of her numerous offences, and seek the remedy of her spiritual malady in the atoning blood of Christ; then, I assured her, I could indulge the hope that her temporal condition would improve.

10th. This forenoon I called upon Ozoro Waleta Teclit, for the purpose of making the acquaintance of her son Dejjaj Comfou. I found her house crowded with people; indeed, most of the nobility of Gondar were present. They treated me with marked civility, and manifested no ordinary degree of friendship and esteem. My watch, as well as my hair and beard, afforded them considerable amusement. From thence, I proceeded to the residence of the Etchegua, who appeared very friendly; he was abundant in excuses because he could not supply me with everything I needed; but, he said, the belligerent armies, which are unceasingly passing and repassing through the country, and have been since the commencement of the current year, had plundered and desolated his fields. I replied, that up to the present time, I had felt the need of nothing which was indispensable to my comfort, and I hoped the ten talaris which I still had, would be sufficient to supply my necessities till the Lord should open a way for my return to Tigre. Such is the state of affairs at present, that no one could undertake the journey with safety; not even the privileged character of the priest would screen him from danger. The Etchegua proposed to me a number of questions concerning the nature of diseases, and the art of healing them. I longed to turn the current of conversation, and to speak of the moral diseases which

are cankering our souls, and the remedy which the Gospel proffers for their recovery ; but every time that an opportunity seemed about to present itself, some one would enter, or something take place which would lead our thoughts to other topics, so that I was compelled to retire without accomplishing my desire. I returned dissatisfied and depressed. While I was with him, however, he performed one act which gave me some degree of pleasure. Two heads of convents, situated in the vicinity of Gondar, were present. To each of these he gave a copy of the Four Gospels, with which I had previously entrusted him, and in the presence of several others, earnestly recommended their impartial examination. This was a cheering incident, and on account of this alone, I can rejoice that Providence has guided my feet to this nominally Christian city, and thus allowed me to hope that I have not labored in vain.

I afterwards visited Alaca Stephanos, with whom I found one of the Falashas, who was very much surprised to learn that there were other Jews than those residing in Abyssinia. He was so ignorant that he was incapable of giving me any information worthy of notice ; but he promised to bring me a man who was able to read, and, consequently, better informed. I made him repeat several words of their language, but could detect only a single one, אֶחָד, (one) which I could positively affirm to be of Hebrew origin.

When I returned, I found my house full of people, among whom were two priests, who from time to time proposed a number of questions, sometimes to draw out farther information in relation to the various subjects which were under discussion ; and sometimes, seemingly to direct the conver-

sation to the ceremonies of the church. I discussed a variety of subjects ; I spoke of the necessity of the new birth for every one of sufficient age to understand the Word of God and believe its promises ; and, contrary to the generally-received opinion of the Abyssinians, I pressed the idea, that water-baptism is not the regeneration of the heart. I also spoke of the supernatural workings of the Holy Spirit on the hearts of men, of the nature of saving faith, of the absolute necessity both of understanding the Word of God, and adopting it as the only rule of faith and conduct, and finally, of the incomprehensible, though scriptural doctrine of predestination or decrees. On this last point, the priests made only this remark : " God, from all eternity clearly foresaw what would be the feelings and conduct of every believer throughout the term of his earthly existence, and on this foreknowledge, he elected him to salvation before the foundation of the world." This led us to speak of the inefficacy of human virtue to save the soul from death, and the criminality of attributing it to the least merit. This idea confounds the Abyssinians not less than Europeans, and they oppose to it the same objections.

A young man present seemed to devour every word that was uttered. To another young man from Dembea, who had perseveringly followed me for fifteen days, I gave a copy of the Gospel. All this time he had been desirous of asking for one, but his timidity prevented his speaking with me ; but to-day he modestly said, " I learnt yesterday that you had given the Gospel to a citizen of Damot ; I have been for a long time wishing to beg of you the same favor, but I did not know that you had brought the Word of Life

among us for gratuitous distribution ; I supposed that you sold it, and I have had nothing, nor have I now anything, which I can give you in exchange for it ; I am not able even to purchase a sufficiency of daily provision ; will you, therefore, be offended if I request you to give me a copy of the Gospel ? I have a father and three brothers, who, with myself, are desirous of learning the Scriptures." I, of course, freely granted his request. His joy was excessive ; and after kissing it repeatedly, he stooped to embrace my feet, but I forbade him. He then said to me, while tears of gratitude gushed from his eyes, " I have now obtained the object of my desire ; I can now cheerfully return to my home. For fifteen days have I suffered the gnawings of hunger, in hopes of at length gaining this precious treasure." This has been a busy day with me ; I had no leisure to take the least nourishment, until since sunset, except one or two glasses of metheglin, at the house of Ozoro Waleta Teclit.

11th. This morning as soon as the dawn appeared in the east, a priest entered my apartment, bringing with him a monk who had explored a great part of the Abyssinian territory. He told me he had traveled about three weeks in a southerly direction from the province of Shoa, crossing the country of the Gallas, on the farther borders of which he had found a small community of Christians, and still farther on, he had fallen in with a people called Caffre. A young Musulman present, also stated that he had journied considerably into the interior of the country, and that in continuing his route for about a month to the west or south-west of Shoa, he had struck upon a small Christian empire, the inhabitants of which spoke a language peculiar to themselves,



called Sidama. They also have some books. The monk was very free to converse upon religious subjects, though I saw he rather assumed the tone of a censor. He commenced by speaking of the boundless love of the Saviour. He said that he had often taken it upon himself to reprove the Etchegua and the priests, because they were more attached to this perishable world than to their blessed Redeemer. He complained much of his countrymen; he charged me never to place any confidence in them, as they were excessively given to hypocrisy. "Never weary yourself," he continued, "in endeavoring to advance their temporal interests, for you will only bring yourself into difficulty by your pains; they are so deceitful in the management of business, that they will craftily plunder you of everything you have; confine yourself to the duties of religion—to the preaching of Christ and his salvation, and the distribution of the Gospel."

His apparent zeal for Christianity led me to entertain for him some degree of regard, although I could not avoid seeing that he was both extremely self-righteous and conceited. When he went out, some one present remarked with an air of peculiar contempt; "There goes a sabaqui;" that is, *preacher*.

After my company had retired, I paid a visit to Kidam Mariam, with whom I had an interesting conversation in the presence of a number of others, concerning the practice of confessing sin to the priests. I replied to him as I usually do to people who touch upon this point, that "such confessions of sin, so long as the priests shall confine themselves to their appropriate limits—to exhorting, instructing, and leading the sinner to Jesus Christ, that he may obtain



pardon and reconciliation through his atoning grace, might be regarded as useful ; but so soon as the priests shall undertake to engender the belief that they, as a consecrated class of men, are endued with authority to forgive sins, provided that the transgressor shall submit to the penance which they shall prescribe,—a penance not unfrequently foreign to the dictates and spirit of God's Word, in such cases, confession is decidedly bad in its consequences ; it becomes the cause of beclouding the mental faculties ; of depraving the morals, and diffusing misery among men ; a state of things, which, at this moment, is everywhere darkening the face of society throughout Abyssinia. When, indeed, the fear of man takes the place of the fear of God and his laws, deplorable consequences must necessarily ensue ; faith and love cannot dwell with such a blighting spirit. Now, without citing numerous examples which I have seen among you, as attestations of this assertion, I will simply appeal to your own experience. When you are conscious of doing anything flagrantly wrong, do you not feel a greater dread of your father-confessor than you do of God ?”

“ I must acknowledge,” said he, “ that this is sometimes the case ; still I think it a beneficial custom ; for often, when the fear of God would not deter me from committing some act of wickedness, the fear of my father-confessor becomes a sufficient restraint.”

“ This is a fine gloss to throw over an evil disposition ; it is as if you should say in other terms, *I frequently do not fear to offend God, provided I do not, at the same time, offend the priest, and this indifference to my Heavenly Father is all right.*”

“Oh no; you go too far.”

“Perhaps so,” I continued; “but I think I can prove the practice wrong on other grounds; and in doing it, I will pass entirely over the pernicious consequences of confession and absolution, such as are now everywhere seen in your distracted country, and will confine myself to a single point. It is this. As long as you believe that the absolution of the priest is indispensable to salvation, you throw contempt on the merits and sufferings of Christ, and make God a liar; for he has declared in his Word that the blood of Christ alone cleanseth from all sin.” This led us to speak of the doctrine of salvation by the grace of God alone, through the atonement of Christ, to which he made no objection. Kidam Mariam is the most intelligent Abyssinian with whom I have hitherto become acquainted; he appears to have a thorough knowledge of the Arabic language and literature. I afterwards continued my walk to the quarters of the Mussulmans, but it always seems to me as though my mouth was supernaturally closed as soon as I enter the house of one professing the faith of Mohammed, and I always go away sad and dejected. I spent this afternoon in reading the Gospel with a few individuals who called to visit me.

12th. Just after sunset last evening, a company of soldiers were seen strolling past our house; my men were instantly struck with alarm, and hurried away my effects to the church. In about half an hour, an uproar was heard; the air was filled with tumultuous cries,—the shriek of terror, and the wail of distress fell in mingled dissonance on the ear. The sound approached nearer, and the soldiers began to pillage in the very neighborhood of my residence.

My servants, and those of Emmaha, instantly seized their arms and prepared themselves to resist, but I strictly charged them not to use their arms, and especially not to fire a gun, except in defence of their lives. They sallied forth, but I remained alone in my house, as tranquil and unruffled in my feelings as on ordinary occasions; though I could hardly determine whether my calmness arose from simple confidence in God, or whether it was not blended with a feeling of indifference or stoicism. But the sequel proved there was no need of weapons or stoicism to shield me from harm or fear; the storm spent itself without reaching our dwelling. The soldiers proved to be not a hostile troop, but a wretched band of miscreants, suffering for want of clothing and dying with hunger.

Habeta Selasse and an aged priest called upon me this morning, and interrupted a conversation on medicine which I was holding with Tecla Selasse, son-in-law of King Tecla Haimanot. Habeta Selasse requested me clearly to explain to him, once for all, my views in regard to the point which forms the principal subject of discussions among the Abyssinians; viz.: what is the meaning of the declaration that Jesus Christ has been anointed with the Holy Spirit?

"We can know nothing with reference to this subject," I replied, "farther than God has seen fit to teach us in his Word. Now it appears to me that the passage of Scripture recorded in Luke, iv. 18, 19, is perfectly clear on this point, and, if correctly interpreted, capable of shedding all the light we need. Let us examine it particularly. *The Spirit of the Lord is upon me*;—this has exclusive relation to the mission of Jesus Christ, the anointed, to be set apart as

king, prophet, and priest. The clauses, *He hath sent me to preach the Gospel to the poor, and to preach the acceptable year of the Lord*, refer to his prophetic office ;—*To heal the broken hearted, and to proclaim the recovery of sight to the blind*, relate to his priestly office ;—and, *To preach deliverance to the captives, and to set at liberty them that are bruised*, belong to his kingly office. The Coptic church maintains that Jesus Christ is anointed by the superlative excellence of his nature, and that he consequently has no need of assistance from the Holy Spirit ; but this is directly contrary to the declaration of the Word of God, (Acts x. 38.) The inhabitants of Tigre believe that the anointing of Jesus Christ simply means that the Holy Ghost has effected a union between the human and the divine natures in the person of our Saviour. But by this interpretation, they entirely do away the typical sense of the anointing of the prophets, the priests, and the kings, under the old dispensation. Besides, the spirit of prophecy has declared Jesus Christ to be a prophet, (Deut. xviii, 18,) a king, (Ps. ii. 6,) and a priest. (Ps. cx. 4.) My opinion, therefore, as founded upon these various passages of Scripture, is, that God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost and with power, as a *man*, so that as *man*, he might be enabled to accomplish the work of our salvation ; as a *prophet*, that he might instruct us, and lead us in the way to God and heaven ; and, as a *priest*, to heal our moral diseases, to subdue our wills, and to bring us into a state of reconciliation with God ; as a *king*, to rescue us from the grasp of our enemies, and deliver us from the slavery of sin.”

“ This,” said Selasse, “ is just our belief ; we, therefore,



"We believe that this is Theodore."\*

"When is he to appear?"

A young Falasha replied, "In seven years." The Rabbi answered, "We know nothing about it. Some say the time is near; others, that it is still distant."

"Have you no book in the Hebrew language?"

With a little hesitation, the Rabbi replied, "Yes, we have the Law, but owing to our present troubles, we have hid that, with some other books, in the Mussulmans' quarter."

As the probability of rain continued, and the Falashas seldom allow a Christian to enter their houses, I was obliged to drop the conversation here and take my leave of him. The Falashas are usually a quiet, peaceful people, and much more active than other Abyssinians, but generally poor, because their cattle are often violently taken from them. They carry no arms, either for attack or defence. The great fear of them, as sorcerers, so prevalent in the minds of people, forms for them a sufficient safeguard. After having been in the company of Christians or Mussulmans, they wash the whole body, and change their dress, before entering again their own houses. In short, they are an ignorant people, full of superstitious notions, which, with some exceptions, are the same as those of the Christians, only that they are modeled after the Jewish fashion.

\* The Abyssinians have a book called *Fakra Yasous*, (Love of Jesus) which says that a certain name, Theodore, will rise in Greece and subdue all the world to his empire; and that from his time the entire world will become Christian. But Habeta Selasse recently said to me, with an air of sadness, "The time fixed by this prophecy is elapsed, and Theodore has not appeared."



On returning home, I found a young man who had come with a request that I would take him with me to Jerusalem. I told him I was too sensible of the folly of such a pilgrimage to think of encouraging him to make it. "They tell me," said he, "that if I go to Jerusalem, I shall be sure of salvation. Will not the fatigue, suffering, and self-denial attending it atone for my sins?" I repeated some passages of the Bible to him, showing how we may be justified before God, and advised him to learn to read the Gospel, rather than go to Jerusalem. "Gladly will I!" he replied; "instruct me." He is apparently borne down with a burdened conscience.

Soon after he had left, my friend Habeta Selasse called. We began to converse on the conversion of man, but were interrupted by Lie Atecou, with four or five others. Lie Atecou, though well informed, has neither the humility nor the good sense of Selasse. They stirred up all the perplexing points which Abyssinian Christians are accustomed to discuss, but Habeta Selasse, beginning to see the folly, the utter uselessness of such discussions, was very restless, and evidently indisposed to be led into the labyrinth. When speaking of the Trinity, the nature of God, etc., they often asked my opinion, to which I invariably replied; "You cannot say, *It is written*. Now, whatever God has not revealed to us concerning His person, is so far above my understanding, that I dare not open my mouth." Habeta Selasse, striking his breast, constantly replied; "You are right! We ought to imitate you, and not forget these three things—*faith, hope, and charity*." At last, they all agreed that the Word of God is the only sure guide in the way of salva-

tion, and that no reliance whatever should be placed on anything not contained in that holy book.

14th. While I was writing by the side of my house yesterday, my people transported all my goods into the church, excepting the clothes on my back, and the book which serves me as a table. At last, Emmaha's mother-in-law took away even my paper and inkstand, saying to me, "Betake yourself into the church quick as possible!" and instantly fled, with the other people of the house. A single servant only remained, and while I was asking him the meaning of all this, an old man who often visits me, came running toward my house, and cried out from a distance; "What! are you mad? Know you not that the whole city is in trouble? I beseech you, take refuge in some church, immediately!" Without waiting to ascertain precisely what was the matter, I followed the old man's advice, and repaired to the church, where I learned the cause of this alarm. For some days past, the soldiers, who have been collecting from all parts to engage in an expedition against Samen and Tigre, have committed many thefts. Yesterday, the market was full of soldiers; and, as the government of the city devolves on Achaber, the Head of the Customs, in the absence of Cantiba Cassai, he went with his people to order the soldiers to retire, fearing they contemplated still more mischief. Some altercation ensued, on which a battle commenced in the midst of the city. Achaber's little force of two hundred chased the seven hundred invaders out of the city, but these, making a circuit, fell upon Achaber and took him prisoner. He has been chained to-day, and also some of the leading men of the city, who did not even go out of their houses

yesterday, and are guilty of no crime whatever save that of having very little money or property of any kind in their houses; all that they were not in absolute need of having been, for some time past, stored away in the churches. Seven or eight persons have been killed, and many wounded. When Achaber was taken, his people fled, and the other party began their work of plunder. As I live on a hill, in a secluded quarter, and among poor people only, my house was not attacked by the robbers. The plundering had not ended this morning, and the great people of the city were running through the streets, with no covering except a rag about the middle of the body. It is thought that the soldiers will leave to-day, with their stolen mules and asses laden with other pillaged property, to go and share the booty with Mariam, who desires nothing better, although Gondar is under his jurisdiction, and Achaber is his friend. According to his usual practice, he will probably cause the prisoners to be beaten, with the hope of extorting money from them. A character worse than is attributed to Mariam, cannot be well given to a prince. He does justice to none. Far from punishing a soldier for robbing or killing his companion, he publicly commends him, as a man of courage. It is said that he has ordered all his soldiers, on entering Oubea's territories, to kill every human being they meet, without distinction of age or sex; threatening with death the soldier, known to have spared a single person in his power.

*Evening.* At noon, the King and the Etchegua went to the market, and endeavored to quell the disturbances; but their exhortations were unavailing, till the Etchegua began

to anathematize; then the chiefs promised to repair immediately to the house of the king, and settle the difficulty. They brought Achaber there, and liberating him upon the spot, promised to restore all that belonged to him, provided he would enter no complaint before Mariam. The Etchegua also came to the king's house, to anathematize all the soldiers who should refuse to restore their stolen goods and money. The people hope that most of the soldiers will fear the anathema, and restore what they have taken; but all will not, for the very next moment some of them entered and ransacked my house; but they found nothing but a little pepper, which they drank with water. I am very glad I came to the church, for had I been in the house, my people would have suffered nothing to be taken but by force, which would probably have occasioned a battle in the house.

15th. This morning I went to the house of Alaca Stephanos, where I found a large collection of people assembled to condole with Kidam Mariam, who was bewailing the death of his brother, who fell in the battle day before yesterday. To-day everything is quiet. Mariam has at last left the neighborhood of Gondar, and the soldiers have all set off with him to meet Oubea in the vicinity of Debaree. Oubea requested him to hasten, that the caravans may pass, and the poor peasants sow their fields; lest the cries of the poor rise to heaven against them both, in consequence of their quarrels. All, even the enemies of Oubea, speak well of him.

Habeta Selasse came, accompanied by a monk, an Alaca, and some priests. He repeated the questions he put to me the other day, on the points of their disputes, especially on the anointing of Jesus Christ. I perceived at once, that his

only object was to persuade the priests that our views on this point are not essentially different. This subject always affords me opportunity of speaking on the new birth by the operation of the Holy Spirit. They all, at length, agreed that it is an error to call the anointing of Jesus Christ a birth, because the work of the Holy Spirit in us is called a birth, only on account of its renewing in us the image of God, which we have lost by sin. We likewise discussed the subject of the two natures in Jesus Christ; but on this point, I usually confine myself to saying, that the Bible speaks neither of one nor of two natures; and therefore, that we do wrong in condemning those whose opinion differs from our own. In theory, the Abyssinians do not admit the doctrine of the two natures; but in almost all their religious conversations, one sees that they admit it in practice, for you may often hear them say, that Jesus Christ did such an action as man, and such a one as God. At this crisis, I always endeavor to draw their attention to the boundless love of Christ, who became man that he might be able to suffer and die for us.

As they often have done before, they all said; "No white man like you, ever came to this country. When we question others, they are offended, and when we state our sentiments to them, they say theirs are the same; but express contrary opinions when out of our hearing."

The Alaca said to me; "Tell us frankly whether the Armenians admit the doctrine of the three births of Jesus Christ."

"I have never conversed with the Armenians on this subject, and do not know."



"I never before heard a white man say, 'I do not know;' the others are like us, pretending to know everything, although full as ignorant as ourselves."

Turning to the others, Habeta Selasse remarked; "It is his saying, 'I do not know,' whenever I question him on points not contained in the Bible, that has gained my entire affection and confidence."

The Alaca then inquired; "Do the Greeks believe in three births?"

"If I rightly remember, the Greeks believe with me, that Jesus, as man, was anointed of the Holy Spirit to be Christ; that is to say, prophet, priest, and king; but I never heard three births spoken of till I came to Abyssinia."

"Yohannes\* has then deceived us again, in asserting that the Greeks admit three births. He advised us to send for a Greek bishop, but if he comes, we shall only dispute; and who will reconcile us?"

Selasse replied; "None but the English can reconcile us."

"Learn the Gospel," said I, "instruct the people in every part of the Word of God, and nothing else; for that alone can reconcile you, and create a new people in Abyssinia, to the glory of our Saviour."

"It is precisely on account of your tolerating nothing but the Word of God," said Selasse, "that you only, can put an end to our discussions."

\* A Greek, who was here last year, and appears to have displayed in his conduct considerable art or management. He gained the esteem of all; but without having had occasion directly to contradict him till now, I see that the longer I stay here, the more he loses ground with those who know him.

This evening, Lic Atecou introduced an Alaca to me, but I was unable to carry on any connected conversation with him.

16th. *Sunday*. Two priests, and some young people visited me this morning, to whom I read several passages of the Gospel. More people came this afternoon than could be accommodated in my room, so we went and seated ourselves on the grass in the church-yard. We read several portions of the Gospel, but had no connected conversation on any point. Lic Atecou was present: he is one of the most learned Abyssinians, but extremely loquacious, and is constantly running from one subject to another, without any observance of order. This is quite offensive to Habeta Selasse, who is more systematical and thorough, always wishing, when one question is touched upon, to exhaust that before passing to another. They asked me whether the glory of Jesus on the mount of transfiguration, was essential, or given him by the Father, like the anointing of the Holy Spirit.

"I do not know, for the Bible does not say; but it appears to me to have been the glory essentially belonging to his person."

"That is also our belief," rejoined Selasse; "but I have heard that when Yagoube\* was questioned on this point, he said he believed it was given him of the Father, as the anointing; but since the Bible says nothing of it, it is a distinction of little importance."

Said Lic Atecou, "Yagoube was a learned man, and no

\* The name by which Bruce was known in Abyssinia; it is the Arabic and Abyssinian for "James."

well-informed white man has been in Gondar since. The others, in order to appear to us learned, professed much acquaintance with astrology, knowing that we could not confute them on this point."

"Did you know Yagoube?" I inquired.

"I am too young to have known him personally," answered Lie Atecou; "but there are old men in Gondar yet who knew him. All the great people of the country loved and respected him."

17th. The king himself sent for me this morning, requesting me to bring the copies of the Gospel and the Acts which he sent back to me. I instantly obeyed the summons; and when I entered his presence, he said to me, with as kingly an air as he could possibly assume, "I told you to visit me often, and you have not been here since. Why are you so soon offended with me?"

"I am not offended with you; but in our country, when a present, which had been accepted, is returned, though it may have been a mere trifle, we thereby understand that all friendly intercourse ceases. In this case I supposed the same; besides, on no account whatever, do I desire the companionship of any individual who despises the Word of God."

"But you cannot always follow the customs of your own country;—you must conform to the manners of the people with whom you are; and as for the Gospel, I have it in the Ethiopic language, which I understand."

The Afa Negus (described by Bruce\*) then addressing

\* One of the King's Chamberlains. See *Bruce's Travels*, Book V. chap. ii. describing the freedom with which these officers address the king.

the king, said, "You mistake in both these respects; for in Abyssinia, we never send back an accepted present, unless we wish to break friendship."

Addressing myself, the king said, "I did not know it; I pray you excuse me."

"With all my heart," said I.

"Then," continued the Afa Negus, "this was no common present. It was the Gospel of the Lord. You are old, and he presented it, not for you alone, but for your household; for many in your house desire nothing so much as the Gospel, in a language which they understand."

"That is true," replied the king; "let us forget the past, and be friends." I left him soon, with his urgent request that I would visit a cousin of his, who is sick.

I passed the afternoon at the house of Lie Atecou; but he was so absorbed in the study of geography as to prevent all connected conversation on any other subject. He showed me the entire Bible in Latin, and a little catechism in Amharic, printed at Rome in 1809, if I have correctly deciphered the date. "Five years ago," said he, "four Spanish priests came into Abyssinia; but they made no stay with us." He did not see them. He also produced a medical book in the Amharic language, nearly twice as thick as the Gospel. The author's name I did not find, but Lie Atecou said it was written by Plato. He refused to sell the book.

18th. Tecla Selasse, the king's cousin, spent the whole forenoon with me. He comes to see me often; his conversation on the Word of God is so intermingled with the science of medicine, the misery of the royal family, treasures hid in the earth, evil spirits and sorcerers, that when he is

gone, I can scarcely tell what we have talked about. But he has so much piety withal, (though clouded by superstition,) and so much good nature, that I cannot speak severely to him. Habeta Selasse also was with me a short time. Knowing that my servants killed a hyena last night, he took occasion to tell me that the flesh and teeth of this animal were a good preservative against the *boudas* (sorcerers.) I told him I could easily understand how ignorant people would believe in boudas, but that he should be under the influence of such a prejudice, was matter of astonishment to me. He instanced examples for the support of his belief in boudas ; viz. : that there are men who render themselves invisible at pleasure ; that when any one kills an ox, &c., he often finds a part in it, which ought to have been filled with flesh, either empty, or full of water, the boudas having eaten the flesh ; that men of good health, and good appetites, become like skeletons—internally devoured by boudas ; and especially, that hyenas are often found killed, with their ears pierced, and even with rings in their ears.

“ You know,” said I, “ that the want of flesh in men and oxen may arise entirely from other causes. Besides, those who have the most amulets against the boudas are thus affected, as well as they who have none ; but did you ever see a man render himself invisible, or a hyena with ear-rings ?”

“ No.”

“ Have you ever heard an honest person say, he had seen it ?”

“ No. Every one repeats, ‘ I have heard so.’ ”

“ You have often said that the country is full of liars. Did



it never enter your mind, that the history of the boudas is a parcel of lies?"

"Never, till now. For some time past, I have fancied myself the prey of boudas, but now I begin to doubt their existence; but you surely cannot deny that some are possessed?"

"Far from that! I believe all who obey not the commands of God, and the testimony of Jesus Christ, are in the possession of the devil."

"You are correct. Those demons who cause us to sin against God require the strictest watchfulness on our part, much more than what affects our bodies only. But do you not suppose madness to be the work of these evil spirits?"

"Doubtless it may sometimes be the case, since we have examples of it in the Gospel; but you often attribute it to their immediate influence, when caused only by some physical disorganization, as was the case with Gajar Heflou, brother of Ozoro Waleta Teclit, whom the letting of blood simply, wholly restored."

"You condemn us on every point. I am sensible of the necessity of guarding more strongly against whatever may injure our undying souls, than against anything which concerns this life alone."

19th. To-day is the feast of Abuna Tecla Haimanot. I wished to visit Alaca Waldab this morning, and Habeta Selasse came to accompany me; but my house was so full till noon, and several priests among the rest, that I could hardly breathe. Lic Atecou caused me much pain by turning the conversation so often to geography, especially Biblical geography. In speaking of the idolatry of China,

Habeta Selasse remarked, "We have no idolatry in Abyssinia."

"But is there not covetousness?" I inquired.

"Yes; much."

"And what says St. Paul?"

"He says," rejoined Selasse, "*that covetousness is idolatry*; but not in this sense."

"No; for idolatry is the giving to the creature that love and regard which we owe to God. Your very churches, since you have filled them with images, to which you bow yourselves and pray, have become temples of idols."

A priest then remarked; "We by no means adore the images; by merely representing facts which occurred long since, they serve to recall more vividly to our minds the faith and sufferings of God's ancient servants."

"You will agree, however," said I, "that ignorant people at least, worship the images as much as the heathen worship their idols."

"Yes," replied Selasse; "and it is to be greatly lamented."

The priests added; "We all say this is but the abuse of the images, since they are bare representations only of persons and facts."

"The worship of the images by the people, is surely, as you say, a sin—a sore evil; consequently they ought to be removed from the churches."

All were silent, till we came next to the Apocryphal Books. I brought forward our reasons for not receiving them as the Word of God, among which, was the fact, that the early Christians did not consider them such. To that

they all consented, saying that none but the Copts and themselves regard them as inspired.

I said to them; "The Franks (Papists) consider them sacred as the Gospel, and I believe you have learned to include them in the Word of God, from this people."

They all looked upon each other, saying, "It is possible."

"As for your Didascalia, you have not the slightest proof that Christians of the first ages had anything to do with it; consequently, there is great danger in your receiving it as the Word of God."

"Yes," replied Selasse; "because the Abyssinians alone consider this one of the inspired books."

"Your Councils," I added, "since they pretend to teach nothing new, but barely to explain the principal articles of faith in the Word of God, are very imperfect; therefore we ought to judge of them by the Bible. Whatever accords with that we receive, rejecting everything else."

All united in saying, "We cannot argue against that."

This afternoon the Etchegua sent me a basket of wheat bread and a pitcher of beer, both made expressly in remembrance of Abuna Tecla Haimanot. The Etchegua assembled from three to four hundred persons in his house, to whom he caused bread and beer to be distributed. Three times a year is the feast of this saint celebrated as to-day, and is considered nearly as sacred as that of the Lord's Supper. My house was filled with people; and the silence with which they drank their beer, and the vows which they offered up for all in the house, although mixed with much superstition, were edifying to me, and reminded me of the love-feasts of the first Christians.

20th. I received a visit this morning from two priests, who questioned me on the anointing of Jesus Christ, which always leads to conversation on the new birth. They made some inquiries also respecting the two natures in Jesus Christ, from which I can always take occasion to speak of the love of God in becoming man for our salvation. I passed the remainder of the day in paying several visits, among others I visited the Etchegua, with whom were a number of priests. He questioned me upon the anointing of Christ, with the single intention at first of ascertaining my opinion upon the subject; but when I compared it with the anointing of prophets, priests, and kings, he was rather perplexed, and made several other inquiries, showing his desire to obtain clear and correct views of the matter. He was much pleased with the idea that Jesus Christ could be priest only as man. He inquired whether it were true that the Franks attribute two persons (*acales*) and two natures (*baher*) to Jesus Christ. My answer was, "No; they believe that he unites two natures and two wills in one person."

"What is your opinion on this point?" inquired the Etchegua.

"Neither the words, 'one nature,' or 'two natures,' are found in the Bible. The different languages of Christendom attach different significations to the expressions. There was formerly much disputing on this point, but without coming to any definite conclusion. The reason why I and my friends avoid using the term 'one, or two natures,' is, that we believe disputing without love to be inconsistent with Christianity; we content ourselves with saying, like

the Bible, that Jesus Christ is perfect God and perfect man."

Then turning to the priests, "We cannot express ourselves better," said the Etchegua; "let this be our belief also."

I have been told to-day that some talk of requesting me to become a bishop; but aside from feeling no wish for this dignity in Abyssinia, I think it not best to encourage the people to ask for an English bishop at present. Last evening, I received a visit from a priest of the most debased and abandoned character; he was excessively ignorant, and, at the same time, extremely self-conceited, vainly fancying himself vastly learned. I addressed him in as serious and feeling a manner as I was able; though it unhappily produced little effect upon his obdurate and besotted mind. As soon as I had closed, instead of reflecting upon the admonition I had given him, he impudently asked me if I had a wife in the country; and upon my answering in the negative, officiously proposed to procure me one. I felt so indignant at the corruption of heart he betrayed, that I instantly drove him from the house, a circumstance which occasioned considerable merriment for all present.

21st. This morning I went to visit Kidam Mariam, who proposes going to Tigre and Massowah before winter, to consult him on the best route for us to take. We are comparatively in prison at Gondar; and for myself, I am without money. Unless the route of Wagara and Samen is opened in the course of fifteen or twenty days, we conclude to journey along the borders of Lasta, and go to Antalo.

On returning, I found two Alacas and some priests at my



house. They asked me many questions on the doctrine of the anointing of Jesus Christ, and on the two natures ; and were satisfied with my replies. I never saw people more attentive than they were, when I spoke to them of the regeneration of man by the operation of the Holy Spirit, and of the love and obedience due from us to our Saviour, who *was made flesh, a man of sorrows*, for our salvation.

My house was thronged all the afternoon with Alacas, priests, and laymen. They also questioned me on the anointing, and on the two natures of Christ. I began by reproving them for always dwelling on these topics, as if the Bible treated of nothing else ; adding, that their continual disputes on non-essential points prove their want of true Christianity, the test of Christianity being love ; and that did they possess Christian love, their disputes would immediately end. Then I explained myself clearly and briefly as possible, for I learn gradually how to express myself upon these questions. When I closed, an Alaca said to the others, "That is just our belief ; but he expresses himself much more clearly than we do. I am inclined to think the word 'birth' inapplicable to the anointing of Jesus Christ."

Another said, "He is right in saying that if Christian love was in our hearts, our disputes would immediately cease. Far from being passionate, like other white men, he speaks to us in love. See here the reason of our readily agreeing."

I observed, "Being orthodox on certain points in the Bible is altogether insufficient. To be a Christian, requires a strict conforming of ourselves to the entire Word of God. You are," I continued, "like a tree, which has some sound roots and some beautiful branches, but which yields no fruit ; you

know, however, that the Father cuts off *every branch* of the vine *that beareth not fruit* in Jesus, and casts it into the fire."

"Yes," said Selasse, "we are like the barren fig-tree in the Gospel; this was not a wild tree, but a fig-tree. Even so, we are not heathens; we are orthodox Christians, but all our works are evil."

The priests then inquired of me if I would not become an Abuna in Abyssinia; in reply to which, I asked, "What are the duties of a bishop among you?"

"He makes priests by the laying on of his hands."

"Does he not preach the Gospel?"

"No; because he does not speak the language of the country."

"It is sinful to call a man a bishop, who does not feed the flock of Christ. Does he examine the priests before he lays his hands on them?"

"No."

"That accounts for the fact of there being among you so many wolves, who ruin the heritage of the Lord. How will he answer for his conduct before God?"

Selasse answered; "He makes himself a partaker of other men's sins, by laying on hands suddenly, contrary to what St. Paul cautions Timothy."

I observed; "If one of my countrymen were to become your bishop, it would be only on these conditions; he would suffer no one to fall down before him—he would not give absolution, as your bishops do—he would travel through the country once a year to ascertain the state of the church, and to preach the Gospel;—and, above all, he would lay hands on no one, till he had strictly examined him, to determine

whether he were able and worthy to feed the flock, which the Lord *hath purchased with his own blood*. Under these conditions, I would consent to become your Abuna; adding, however, the condition, that in future, the Abuna be at liberty to marry, for St. Paul says to Timothy, that a bishop should be '*the husband of one wife*.' What say you to this?"

All were silent. I have remarked for some days, that my conversations with the priests are immediately reported throughout the city.

22d. This morning I was sent for to go and see the sister of the deceased king, Tecla Haimanot. She knew Bruce, and said he was very much respected at Gondar; but that he had no authority, only as the king once told him he would give him the source of the Nile, or the market of Saccala. An old man present told me that Yagoube found a quantity of gold, which he carried with him to Sennaar. The Abyssinians believe their country full of gold, but that the whites only know how to find and purify it. To reason the subject with them is utterly vain, for the greater part of them believe that white men come into Abyssinia for the single purpose of looking for mines of gold.

I called afterwards upon Ozoro Waleta Teclit, with whom I found several priests, who again asked me if I would be their Abuna. I repeated to them the answer I gave the others yesterday, adding some remarks on the essence of true Christianity. Waleta Teclit would suffer no one, not even the priests, to speak, lest her attention would be diverted from what I was saying, till, all at once, her house was so filled, that she could no longer enforce silence. When I withdrew, she begged me to visit her often.

23d. *Sunday*. This morning I was visited by some priests, with whom I read several passages from the Gospel. After they retired, I passed some hours alone with my Bible. My house was full in the afternoon, but I was prevented from holding much conversation with those present, by Lie Atecou, who has the general respect of the people, and was continually running, as usual, from one subject to another.

24th. I paid several ceremonious visits this morning; but I cannot get about the city as I would, owing to some few individuals, particularly Gajar Heilou, Ozoro Waleta Tec-lit's brother, who was relieved of his malady by bleeding. (I have no other remedy.) Every one stops me, begging me to go and see some invalid friend. Indeed, such is the confidence of the people in me, that if I only had the effrontery to proclaim myself capable of removing diseases at my bidding, there would be no want of credulity on the part either of the sick or their friends. The more I tell them I am no physician, the more confidence have they in my prescriptions. There are some who believe even a look from me sufficient to restore the sick.

An old priest with some other individuals called this afternoon. We conversed upon the spiritual misery of man, and the salvation meritoriously procured for us by Jesus Christ on the cross. The Abyssinians appear affected when one speaks to them of the corruption of the human heart, but their ideas of eternal salvation are vague.

25th. I have seen none but sick people to-day, excepting Habeta Selasse, who spent some hours at my house. I told him that the most ardent desire of my Christian friends in England is, to redeem the Abyssinian people from their ig-

norance and misery, by acquainting them with Christ; and that to effect this most desirable object, as learned an Abyssinian as can be found, and one whose sole object should be the glory of God and the salvation of men, must first go to England to assist in preparing books in the Amharic language. "We should not give him money to hoard up, because he who seeks the riches of this world would be an unsuitable person, his heart not being entirely devoted to the Lord; but were a man like yourself to go, we would give him enough for his comfort. It would afford you a fine opportunity of educating your son. Should I advise my friends to send for you to England or Malta, would you accede to this proposal?"

"I desire," replied Selasse, "to consecrate my life to the Lord. If you think I can in this way contribute to the advancement of the kingdom of Christ, I am ready to go, wishing no compensation but my daily food. But I should prefer going with you to preach the Gospel to the Gallas. Se-hela Selasse (King of Shoa) strongly insists on my returning to him; but I propose remaining yet a year at Gondar till you return."

26th. I had scarcely risen this morning before my house was filled with priests, monks, and others. I spoke to them of their great sin in worshipping images, and invoking the saints, even the Virgin Mary; and they manifested no displeasure at what I said. I read to them the history of the sufferings of Jesus Christ, in St. John, adding some remarks of my own. I had intended to read only one chapter, but they continued urging me on till noon. They had hardly gone, when in came the priests of Coscouam, with a party



of young people. They had asked the Etchegua for a copy of the Gospel, and he referred them to me for my consent. They put several questions to me concerning the anointing of Jesus Christ, and his two natures, and then began to dispute among themselves on useless points; for example, "Did Adam rule over the angels? Is it by some special gift conferred on him, as man, that Jesus Christ has power over the angels, or is it as God?" &c. Being unable to agree, they wished to refer the decision to me, as judge; but I confined myself to telling them that these are vain questions, which St. Paul desires the priests and all Christians to avoid. I then exhorted them to cleave to the Bible alone, assuring them that anything pertaining to matters of faith, which is not contained in the Word of God, is not only useless, but decidedly injurious. They inquired whether I were a priest; and on my replying in the affirmative, an Alaca, in compliance with the customs of his country, wished to kiss my hand, but I told him it was not proper for a priest to allow his hand to be kissed. Many of the Abyssinians believe that by kissing the hand of a priest their lips are purified, as Isaiah's were when touched by the coal from the altar. When a priest enters a private house, if any one in it does not rise to kiss his hand, he is sure of receiving a severe reprimand from the priest.

The priests of Coscouam had but just left me, when another company with Lic Atecou came in. After we had read some passages from the Gospel, I spoke to them on justification by faith, to which they offered no objections; but this led to a long conversation with Lic Atecou on the vow of celibacy. He manifested a high regard for the monks,

at first, but when I began to allude to their evil practices, he confessed the justness of my remarks, observing, however, that they were applicable to one party only—that there was also a wicked Judas among the faithful Apostles.

“Supposing,” said I, “that the monks are good people; yet, by retiring into convents and deserts, they render themselves useless to the world; besides, supposing them to be enlightened by the spirit of God, they transgress the commands of Jesus Christ, who wills that the *light* of his disciples should *shine before men, that they may see their good works and glorify their father which is in heaven.*”

“I acknowledge,” Lic Atecou replied, “that were the monks to instruct the people, and set a better example to the fathers of families, they would do much more good.”

“The vow of celibacy,” I continued, “being based on man’s power alone, and not on the grace of God, is of itself a sin, and therefore unlawful; for we have ground for relying on the grace of God, only when vowing to observe his express commands.”

With a pensive air, he observed, “That idea never occurred to me. Yes, you are right—of ourselves we can do nothing. Nevertheless, do you not think the monks will obtain salvation?”

“I doubt not that some among them will be saved, as well as other true Christians; but I believe many of them will be lost.”

27th. I spent the forenoon in visiting the sick. I afterwards had a long, but not unpleasant conversation with Lic Atecou, upon the difference we ought to make between the Word of God and the writings of men. After that, we had

one of the most interesting conversations I have had since I have been in Abyssinia, on the love of God for us—the love which we owe to him—the vanity of all terrestrial things—and the eternal blessedness of the elect with the Lord. Several persons were present, who appeared desirous of having part with us in the inheritance of the saints. Lic Atecou then mentioned Bruce, saying that the Abyssinians watched him narrowly, and were persuaded that his character, while in Gondar, was perfectly chaste and correct;—that he was continually occupied either in reading or writing with his friend Michael. The contrast in their testimony concerning the character of this, the only Englishman who has been at Gondar, and that of other Europeans, was so gratifying to me, that I could not refrain from expressing the peculiar pleasure I felt on the occasion.

28th. My house was full from sunrise till ten o'clock; but the minds of those present are so perverted, that I could hold no connected conversation with them. I made several visits afterwards. At the house of Ozoro Waleta Teclit, all were astonished to hear me say that we pay no homage to the Virgin Mary. After stating several reasons why we do not worship her, some said, "He is right!" but most of them appeared dissatisfied; not daring, however, to contradict me publicly, as I am looked upon here as a very learned man. On returning to my house, I found there two brothers, sons of King Joas the Great. They came from Begamder sometime since, to entreat Mariam to make peace with Oubea and Sebagadis; but he would not listen to them. Thence they came to Gondar to engage the priests to exhort Mariam to reconciliation and friendship,

but the priests are afraid to say much upon the subject. All the members of the royal family, the present king excepted, evince a singular attachment to white men. I never before saw such nobleness of air, figure and disposition, as in these two men. I had a long conversation with them, principally on the justification of the sinner before God. Their numerous questions, designed to obtain clearer views upon this important point, discovered, if not much knowledge, at least, a sound judgment. They made some inquiries, also, concerning the religion and politics of England. My heart was touched with the apparent humility of these two royal youth. On leaving me, they said ; " Since you are Christians like ourselves, we and our brethren entreat you to recommend our unhappy family and country to your nation."

I spent most of the afternoon in the company of Habeta Selasse, Guebra Haiwat, a well-informed young man of Begamder, and some other individuals. We touched on several points of doctrine ; but my principal aim was to convince them that in our religious concerns, anything not contained in the Bible, is prejudicial to faith and charity. As the conversation closed, Selasse and Guebra Haiwat spoke in a very decided manner, saying, " Well, we wish for nothing but the Bible." The invocation of saints they at once acknowledged to be useless, although they do not yet see the sin of it. They also gave their consent to the truth, that water-baptism is only a visible sign of the regeneration of the heart. The Abyssinians do not imbibe the notions of the papists concerning purgatory ; but they pray for the dead, believing that their souls do not reach a state of felicity



till the lapse of a certain time, proportioned in length, to their conduct on earth, and to the quantity of alms and prayers of their relatives ; together with the necessary absolution of the priests. My visitors to-day readily acknowledged, however, that their belief on this point is not founded on the Word of God ; and confessed that I was in the right, when I quoted to them texts of Scripture, such as, “ That every one may receive the things *done in his body*, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad ;” 2 Cor. v. 10—*After death the judgment*, Heb. ix. 27, without an intermediate state—*Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord*, &c., Rev. xiv. 13—all of which are against the belief in any purgatory whatever, after death. Habeta Selasse added ; “ The foundation of our belief on this point, is but the vision of a bishop, with neither a name nor a witness.” I am told repeatedly, and from every quarter, that the Etchegua recommends me to all the priests ; and he has referred several of them to me for my decision of important points of belief, on which they could not agree.

29th. This morning I went to the house of Alaca Stephanos to consult him as to my route when I should return to Tigre. He told me he could promise me a safe journey by way of Lasta immediately ; but that Mariam has heard of me, and he would not advise me to take a course by which I must avoid him. However, unless the Wagara road is previously open, I purpose leaving with the caravan, for Massowah before the rains. Were I his own son, Alaca Stephanos could scarcely manifest more solicitude for my welfare. When I rose to leave him, he told me his slave disappeared last night ; and inquired if I knew the art of return-



ing him, as the Mussulmans, who have only to read a portion of their book to bring back a slave instantly. On re-entering my house, I found a lady, who immediately threw herself at my feet, saying, "I hear that you know all things; I entreat your assistance; and I promise you any reward you may demand. I have a son, who is married, and is the father of several children. Another woman has given him medicine to wean his affections from his wife, and win them herself; since which, he is continually running after this woman, and refuses to hear a word either from his wife or children. I beseech you for a medicine which shall cause him to return to his family."

I passed a great part of the afternoon with a company of young people, to whom I explained the nature of true Christianity; which led them to infer that the Abyssinians are Christians only in name.

30th. The Etchegua sent for me to breakfast with him this morning. I found but one priest with him, and a monk, both of whom carried the appearance of persons in authority. The Etchegua, in a very systematic manner, proposed to me every question which could be asked concerning the anointing of Jesus Christ. His first was, "What was Adam before the fall?"

"Adam was created a king, to rule over all the earth, and subject it to himself; a priest, to render to God a rational homage in the name of all nature; a prophet, to bring up his posterity in the knowledge and love of God."

The Etchegua remarked, "Adam was not introduced into Paradise till forty days after his creation, and Eve eighty days after her creation. This is our reason for baptizing

boys at the age of forty days, and girls when they are eighty days old. What think you of it?"

"The Bible, which alone can inform us on this subject, speaks neither of forty nor of eighty days; therefore we know nothing about it. We baptize infants of one day old, or more, with no reference to a definite age."

"This difference between us and you," said the Etehegua, "is of no consequence. By whom was Adam saved?"

"If he was saved, it was by Jesus Christ; *for there is none other name under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved*, but the name of Jesus alone."

"How were the Old Testament saints saved, since Jesus Christ had not then come into the world?"

"They were saved by faith in Christ, as well as ourselves; for it is written that he was *slain from the foundation of the world*."

"Why do men die?" inquired the Etehegua. "Is it on account of the sin of Adam, or is it through their own fault?"

"St. Paul says, that *by one man sin entered the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, through him (Adam), for that all have sinned*.\* Therefore the death of the soul in which we are born, and the death of the body, are the consequence of the sins of Adam; but Jesus Christ has redeemed, or delivered, all who believe in him, both from

\* Mr. Gobat here quotes according to the Latin Vulgate, *In quo*, (in whom;) the original is ἐφ' ᾧ. The critical reader is aware that there is a difficulty in the passage. The English rendering will probably be regarded by many as containing the more exact sense, though the other rendering is also given in the margin of our English Bibles.

the death of the soul, and that of the body ;—from the former, by the regeneration which takes place on earth, (John iii. 12 ;) and from the latter, by the resurrection at the last day ; for it is by believing that we obtain the true life of body and soul through his name."

The monk observed, "He is more learned than Yohannes,"—the Greek who was here last year.

"Yohannes," continued the Etchegua, "knew the New Testament only ; but this man knows the whole Scriptures ;" then addressing himself to me, he inquired, "How does Jesus Christ deliver us from the power of the angel of death ?" (that is to say, the devil.)

"St. Paul says, that *by his death, he has destroyed him who has the power of death, even the devil.*"

"We agree," said he, "in all the principal points. I have now found the Abuna we want." He then inquired whether there were monks in our country.

"No," I replied : "there are many who do not marry, but they content themselves with saying, 'To-day I am not married ; but as for to-morrow God alone knows what will be suitable for me.'"

He continued by saying : "The cap of St. Anthony, and that of St. Macarius have not yet arrived from England ; but are you not acquainted with the order of St. George ?"

"We are acquainted with it ; but we believe the vow of celibacy to be a sin, because it is based on man's own power, to establish thereby that righteousness of his own, which St. Paul condemns ; and neither is it anywhere recommended in the Word of God."

"This difference also is of no consequence."

Our conversation then turned upon the confession of sins to priests, and absolution; but as this point is the basis on which the priests rest their tyrannical authority, we were constrained to differ widely, and they therefore chose not to understand me: we were interrupted also in the midst of our conversation. He proposed resuming the question when we next meet. I was no sooner out of his house, than the rain and hail began to fall in such profusion, that I was obliged to stop for shelter at three different houses on the road. I was fearful of having offended the Etchegua by my frankness with him on the points of confession and absolution; but the moment the rain was over, he sent his favorite servant to inquire whether I had reached home in safety; if I were wet; if I had endangered my health by the exposure;—leading me to conclude that his regard for me remains unchanged.

I have to-day received my first intelligence from friend Kugler at Adowah. The bearer of the letter informed me of Mariam's wishes that I should visit him on my return. If it be true that he has directed Cantiba Cassai to take me with him in eight days, I cannot refuse to accompany him; although by going so soon, I shall offend Sebagadis and Oubea. Peace is not yet effected, though report says it is desired by all the chiefs.

31st. I have been to Asoso to-day, a village belonging to the Etchegua, about two leagues south-west of Gondar. I had promised him I would go there to see his church, much celebrated from the circumstance of its having been the one in which Abuna Tecla Haimanot ordinarily officiated. The priests there told me that it was built by King Fasil (Fasil-



idas, or Basilidas), alleging as proof of this that the walls are constructed of lime. The Abyssinians believe all the buildings, and most of the walls in which there is lime, were built by Fasil. The Church of Axum is their only exception, which they say was the work of the devil. The memory of Fasil is highly honored in Abyssinia, in consequence of his having driven the Popish priests from the country, after his accession to the throne of Susneus, his deceased father. His body, six cubits in length, is said to have been preserved entirely free from putrefaction till this day, on an island in Lake Dembea. The priests inquired if the churches in our country were built like theirs. In explaining to them the form of ours, I took occasion to speak on the duty of priests to preach the Gospel and instruct the people, rather than content themselves with vain and foolish ceremonies, which serve to induce bigotry and pride. They then showed me some books, a large golden cup, and a golden cross; also an iron cross, said to have fallen from heaven in honor of Abuna Tecla Haimanot. There are three or four more like it in Abyssinia, all of which are said to have fallen from heaven. Then they put the usual questions respecting the anointing of Jesus Christ. I closed by exhorting them to forbear giving their exclusive attention to this single point, entreating them to study the whole Bible, and to preach the Gospel to their people in a language with which they are familiar. They invited me to dine with the head man of the place before coming home. Asoso is a large village and pleasantly situated. From the hill on which the church stands, you have a full view of the Plain of Dembea, Lake Tsana, and the mountains of Begam-



der ; and beyond the lake, the mountains of Gouorgora, whence building timber is brought to Gondar.

On leaving the Etchegua, I went to salute Cantiba Cassai, whose house I found full of people, who immediately began talking about me, as the other day. Cassai said to them ; " I always feel myself unworthy of being Samuel's friend ; he is a priest altogether unlike any of ours. He came to Abyssinia for the single purpose of bringing us the Gospel, and teaching us its holy truths."

June 1st. I called at an early hour upon the king, to console him, as we say, upon the death of his wife, who died day before yesterday. A great crowd of people stood around the palace, weeping, and singing to the doleful sound of the tabor. Yesterday, nearly all the city assembled around the palace to weep. When an individual dies, all the friends of the nearest relative of the deceased attend him during the succeeding eight days, for purposes of condolence ; that is, they enter into the house, or, that being small, into the court, where the mourner is seated upon the ground ; not a word is spoken, but stopping a moment at his side, those who can manage so to do, weep ; those who have not the necessary art, put on the appearance of weeping ; and when they rise to go, they say to him in a low voice, " Egziabher yitsnah ! (God strengthen you ! God comfort you !)" Whoever omits this ceremony, is not regarded as a friend.

From the king's house, I went to see the Etchegua ; there I found Alaca Stephanos, with whom I conversed a few days since on the means of ameliorating the political condition of Abyssinia. I endeavor to avoid engaging in conversation

upon political subjects, but, by reason of present commotions, and the unhappy state of the royal family, Alaca Stephanos asked me the other day whether the English would render them any assistance, should a request to that effect be presented to them. I answered, that I could not tell; that the English had been anxious for the friendship of the Abyssinians for twenty years; and consequently would, in all probability, lend a helping hand, should it be strongly desired. His next object was to ascertain how the request could be conveyed; to which I replied, that I would advise them to write a letter, which I would myself take to England; but that I was unwilling to be concerned in any way whatever in their political affairs. He mentioned this to the Etchegua to-day, who stopped him, and told him in Ethiopic (thinking I did not understand it) to act cautiously, and not be too ready to trust strangers, &c. He then recounted all the troubles in Abyssinia during the reigns of Susneus and his son Fasil. Wishing, however, to hear no more in this private manner, I interrupted him, by telling him that I knew this history. He questioned me on the entrance of the Franks (Jesuits) into Abyssinia, their progress while there, and their withdrawing from the country. Many others soon came in, and I retired.

2d. This morning the king sent for me to introduce to my acquaintance a friend of his, in whom I could discover nothing more calculated to interest one, than in himself. Afterward I passed some hours with Habeta Selasse, who assured me that both himself and his friends are persuaded that the English are true Christians, because I distribute the Gospel gratuitously; adding, "We are only nominal Christians,—

we give nothing gratis,—even the best priests teach only for the sake of money. He told me also that if I should return to Gondar soon, to go with him to preach the Gospel to the Gallas, his plan would be to remain in Shoa five or six years, for the purpose of qualifying some of the youth there to accompany us as teachers to that benighted race. Meanwhile, Guebra Haiwat came in, and began to talk by saying to me, “My only desire is to know Jesus Christ; but I wish to learn all that can be known of him from the Word of God alone; for I am convinced that you are correct in asserting that human writings only perplex, without enlightening us, in matters of faith. I heard you say, the other day, that the anointing of prophets, priests, and kings, represents the anointing of Jesus Christ, which rendered him capable of perfectly fulfilling these three offices. I understand, that it is as man that Jesus Christ is priest and prophet; but can you show me some passages of the Bible which assert that it is as man that he is King and Judge of the universe? for he is King and Judge as God.”

“Without multiplying proofs, one single passage will make it clear to you. Read the latter part of the 25th chapter of Matthew.” He did so; and having finished reading, struck his head, saying, “Dancaro! dancaro nagne! (Stupid! Stupid that I am!) How many times I have read this passage, but never before discovered what I now see! It is the *Son of Man* who shall come to judge the world; therefore it is as man. And he calls himself King;—*The King shall say, &c.*; and as if more than to convince me that he is King and Judge as man, he calls believers his brethren. This passage is conclusive.” At this moment a third

disciple of Alaca Waldab came in; and with these three friends I consulted as to the best measures for meliorating the religious state of Abyssinia. I aimed, chiefly, to impress upon their minds the duty of instructing the people on points of religious belief, in every part of the Bible, and in that alone.

3d. My house has been full all day; among the company were Lic Atecou, and the Alaca or chief priest of Coscouam. This Alaca was offended the other day by my saying that it did not become a priest to give his hand to be kissed; and he now asked my reason for this assertion. I confined myself to telling him, that priests are the brethren, and not the rightful sovereigns of others,—that it was their duty to be humble,—that the custom, among the common people, of kissing the hand of him only, who is accounted a superior, is of little consequence any way, in itself, provided the priest does not draw nourishment for his pride therefrom, and that others make it not a meritorious work. Conversation then turned on the confession of sins to the priests, and absolution. I said to them; “Your confessions, and your absolutions are the prime causes of the corrupt state of the country. You reduce all sins to a certain number of gross ones. Now the whole life of the unregenerate, like that of your people, is one continued sin, which renders it utterly impossible for a man to confess all his sins, from his entire inability to number them. After confession, you impose a penance, which is not authorized by the Bible;—contrary, often, even to the positive declarations of the Bible;—and always contrary to the spirit of the Gospel; because you thereby lead men to seek justification by works, and not by

faith in Jesus Christ. Then, the priest dares to array himself with the authority of God, and pardon sins when he pleases. By all this, you lull the people to sleep in sin, and lead them to perdition. The duty of priests is, to convince men of their corrupt hearts, and to show the fountain for their cleansing by the preaching of the Gospel. Soon as the sinner has a lively conviction of his misery, then let him confess—not a certain number of sins, but the entire, the deep depravity of his heart, to an enlightened priest; and let that priest first portray to his view the danger he incurs by continuing in sin,—then lead him to the cross of the Saviour; and assure him, from the Word of God, that if he truly repent, and forsake all sin, God will forgive and graciously receive him. Such confession and absolution, and such alone, become Christians who profess to embrace the Gospel of Christ.” Lic Atecou manifested his approval of what I said, and no one made any objection.

4th. Most of the day has been rainy. Two priests and some of the common people spent a great part of the day with me, to whom I read several chapters of the Gospel.

5th. I passed the morning in paying visits. Alaca Stephanos told me, that in case I should be unable to return to Tigre before winter, he would put the forty-four churches of Gondar in requisition to supply me with necessary food; but so long as the Lord provides me with other means of subsistence, I declined his generous offer. I have expended all my money, and no road is yet open for returning to Tigre; but one of my servants has ten talaris in his possession, which he is willing to lend me; thus will God provide!



For a long time, Ozoro Hiroute has invited me almost every day to go and see her. She is the daughter of Ozoro Esther (see Bruce), born after the death of Ras Michael. She was queen, wife of King Tecla Georgis ; and is still distinguished by the title, Itigue, (queen.) She has been very wealthy, but is said now to be quite destitute ; she had, however, several priests at her house to-day, an evidence that she possesses considerable property ; for I rarely find priests at the houses of the poor, and never more than one at a time. The priests immediately questioned me on the anointing of Jesus Christ, but I cut short the conversation by saying, " You always dwell on one point ; as if the Holy Spirit dictated all the rest of the Bible to no purpose. You ought rather to study the way of salvation, and having found it, to lead your people therein ; for a man may be as orthodox as possible on your favorite point, and still lose his soul forever. I do not contradict your opinion, but I say, that notwithstanding your orthodoxy, unless you yourselves are anointed with the Holy Spirit, unless you are born again, you will never enter the kingdom of Heaven." Upon this, two of the priests left in silence ; the others made some inquiries respecting the new birth.

6th. *Sunday.* I have been happy in being alone much of the day, reading my Bible. The feast of Pentecost is observed to-day by the Abyssinians ; but one priest came, whom I found ignorant of what the festival is designed to commemorate. An old priest, the father confessor of the king, called this afternoon, also a well-informed young man of Begamder. I had just been reading the text, *The Word was made flesh.* I spoke to them of the love of God for us ;

and remarked, "The King of the universe became a servant, that he might redeem us from the bondage of Satan and of death ;—abundant reason this, why our whole life should be one continual testimony of our love to him." Such remarks always touch the Abyssinians for a moment, and but for a moment ; being too much out of the general order of things to produce any abiding impression. They wished to know of me what is the best prayer. I explained true prayer to them—the expression of the feelings of an humble heart. When the Abyssinians speak of prayer, they believe that the reading of any religious book whatever, is praying ; accounting the Psalms the best prayers. Not that they think of asking God for what David asked ; but they suppose that by reading the Psalms, or if they have no time for it themselves, by having them read for them by others, they are preserved from the influence of evil spirits ; that is, most generally, from physical maladies, which they attribute to the influence of demons or sorcerers.

7th. I have had people at my house all day, I conversed a long time with Guebra Haiwat on the origin of evil in man ; which I showed him to consist principally in a want of faith, manifesting itself by an inordinate desire to know more than God has been pleased to reveal to us ; and that, too, in direct disobedience to his commands. He immediately applied these observations to their disputes on unrevealed points of religion. The conversation then turned on the invocation of saints ; but he only spoke indiscriminately of all idolatrous sects. At the close, he confessed that the first Christians called only upon the Lord ; and that the invocation of saints, being a manifestation of want of faith in

God, is sin. For him to acknowledge the Virgin Mary to have been a sinner, cost a severe struggle ; yet he confessed that she could do no less than call God her Saviour, because, without him, she, like all other human beings, was lost by reason of sin. I have observed, that, like the other Abyssinians, he is very fearful of being found wanting in that respect which is considered due to the departed saints. Not that they believe they shall offend God by neglecting the invocation of them, but they fear lest the one neglected will cause their death during the night. I do not know how much reason other travelers may have for pronouncing it so dangerous to speak against the opinions entertained by the Abyssinians of the Virgin and the saints ; but I know that I clash with them every day, and am not conscious of having thus offended any one. The more bluntly I reprove priests and others, the more respect I receive from those who hear me ; because they infer from my abruptness, that, unlike themselves, I am no flatterer, and detest everything in the shape of falsehood. It is true that I always aim to express myself "*suaviter in modo, fortiter in re.*" Had I a thousand copies of the Gospel, I could circulate them to great advantage ; for almost all who come to see me now, ask for one. At first, the Gospel in Amharic was looked upon with a degree of indifference, the Ethiopic being regarded as preferable ; but since the Etchegua has been distributing the six copies I gave him, to the first Alacas, public feeling has entirely changed. Several priests, even, now say that the Ethiopic ought to be laid aside, and the Gospel read in Amharic only, in order that all may understand it. A priest said to me to-day, " I sincerely regret not having

known you while you had copies of the Gospel for distribution ; but I rejoice that you have sown the good seed over so great a portion of our country. God grant that it may bring forth much fruit." I learn, also, that some churches are having the Gospel copied into Amharic. I have been unable to sell any ; for, aside from the few to whom I thought best to present it, the Abyssinians of the interior, in this time of war and scarcity, have scarcely the means of obtaining the necessities of life.

8th. This morning, Emmaha's wife went to the market, and bought a pot of honey for me ; but on her return, Achaber's soldiers forcibly wrested it from her. On learning the fact, I sent a servant with her to Achaber, who immediately caused it to be restored ; saying to her, " Why did you go and tell Samuel that my people had taken his honey ? You should have come directly to me, without speaking to any one else of it, for I will not suffer him to be injured in the least. Go ; let no one know that they were disposed to wrong the Guebts (white men.)" For some length of time, there has been very little honey to be bought, which is the reason that all in authority keep soldiers constantly stationed in the market, to take by force all the honey they can find.

I read the 24th chapter of St. Matthew with Habeta Selasse. Alaca Waldab had explained it to his pupils in the morning, but Selasse was not satisfied. I asked him to tell me by what means they are able to retain the explanations of the Bible which they hear, since they do not write, and have no book in which to review the lecture at home. To which he replied, that a small number of them hold little weekly meetings, when one reads the portions of Scripture

which have been discussed the week immediately preceding, and that they pause at every difficult passage, to consult each other as to its probable meaning. He says that Alaca Waldab possesses the whole Bible, which the Abyssinians call "The eighty-one books." I asked him the price of the Ethiopic Bible, supposing one wished to buy it entire; he said that it could occasionally be bought for about a hundred talaris; because, as none pretend to study since the authority of the king has ceased, books are no longer wanted. Those who wish to become priests, confine themselves merely to learning to sing some of the church books, barely to obtain a livelihood. "Our country," he continued, "needs a reform."

9th. The weather has been unpleasant all day, which circumstance, with a slight indisposition, has prevented me from seeing any one.

For some days past, I have had people at my house from morning till night. I preached the Gospel to them according to my best ability, adapting myself to their different capacities; but I have been quite unwell, with a daily increase of fever, and consequently unable to write. The cure of Ozoro Waleta Teclit's brother, whom every one looked upon as possessed, has brought me into great repute; among some, as a physician,—among others, as a saint. The sick send and come from Dembea and Begamder to consult me, and priests from different places visit me. When individuals disagree on points of faith, they appeal to my decision. I always express my views frankly to them, establishing them by texts of Scripture; then, I draw from them the natural inferences, calculated to appeal to their



consciences. If the Bible says nothing upon the particular point in question, I only answer, "God has not revealed it, therefore we know nothing about it." I have all along observed, that nothing gains me the universal confidence more than this one word, "I do not know." An ignorant young priest, Guebra Kidam, whom I have sometimes warned of the guilt and danger he incurs by leading the blind while blind himself, comes to see me almost every day. He found the reading of the Gospel in Amharic much more difficult than the psalms, and two or three books of prayers in Ethiopic, which he knows almost by heart, with no understanding of them; but he now appears sincerely desirous of learning and comprehending the Word of God

Guebra Haiwat came yesterday morning, very early, to tell me that I was wrong the other day in saying that Mary was a sinful creature like us, and that she was saved by the same grace by which we are preserved from eternal death. He said he had found a book stating that the world was created for the Virgin Mary.

"Your book is quite wrong," said I, "and I must tell you that its author is a liar; for the Word of God says, that all things were created by Jesus Christ, and for him."

(Striking his head,) he replied, "Now I see that you are right in telling us that we ought to adhere simply to the Word of God."

After that, an old priest from Shoa came in, who is said to be very learned. He questioned me on various articles of faith, and on the ceremonies of the English church, and appeared satisfied with most of my answers. When I spoke to him of the witness of the Holy Spirit in the heart of man,

(Rom. viii. 16,) he seemed utterly astonished ; indeed, all, to whom I mention the subject, manifest the same surprise, as if it were a doctrine entirely new to them. I often notice the lively impression this makes on my visitors ; for, without openly confessing so much, they show plainly enough a consciousness of their want of this witness.

16th. Yesterday and to-day, all have been engaged with news concerning the war. One messenger after another has arrived, to announce the victory of Mariam over Oubea. Oubea fled after having killed many more than he had lost. Mariam's friends rejoice with trembling, believing Oubea to have retreated, only with the hope of drawing his enemy among some mountains, from which, escape appears impossible. Immediately upon hearing the news of the victory, the soldiers of Cantiba Cassai, and those of Achaber, fell to binding and robbing those friends of Oubea who happened to be in the city. Messenger after messenger has come to inform me of the disturbance, and to advise me to go and sleep in the quarters of the Etchegua, because everybody knows I am a friend to Oubea and Sebagadis. Knowing that every word of mine is reported, I simply say, that if I deceive myself in trusting to the friendship of Achaber and Cantiba Cassai, it will be entirely useless for me to go to the Etchegua's.

17th. Received several visits. I have had a long conversation with Habeta Selasse and Guebra Haiwat, on original sin, infant baptism, and the new birth. On original sin, the Abyssinians are not agreed. As yet, I have found none but Habeta Selasse of my opinion ; viz. : that little children naturally partake of the corruption of their parents, and that if they die, it is in consequence of sin, the origin of which

extends back to Adam ; but that they have been redeemed by Jesus Christ, and are not condemned, because they have never rejected the counsel of God. There are some who believe physical death to have been natural to man, even from the creation ; and that Adam would have suffered the death of the body, had he not sinned. The greater part, especially the priests, believe that at the moment of the conception of the body, God himself creates for it a soul, perfect in its kind ; that is, a soul neither of growth nor of development ;—that it is only the imperfection of the body of the child, which hinders the manifestation of the full faculties of the soul ; for example, when a male child of the age of forty days, or a girl of eighty days, is baptized, its soul knows perfectly well everything that passes. Whence they conclude, first, that it believes in Jesus Christ at the moment of baptism, and is consequently purified from all pollution, and born again ; then, that when an infant dies, whether by miscarriage or any other cause, before it is baptized, it is owing to some sin committed by the soul before or immediately after birth ; but they do not say whether such an infant is saved or lost ; some place it in a perpetual state of apathy. It is easily seen that such a system is soon overthrown by many proofs ; even the Abyssinians are readily convinced that it is erroneous ; yet, when the first impression of the contrary begins to wear away, they always return to this, probably, because the priests find their advantage in it. But notwithstanding this opinion, if they suppose an infant sick unto death, they do not hesitate to baptize it, even on the first day of its life. Soon as an infant is baptized, they administer the communion to it, and

the practice is regularly continued till the age of ten or twelve years. There are few persons, between the ages of fourteen and forty years, especially among the males, who commune, for they are either not married, and too generally, lead an irregular life,—and a man who receives the communion without first making the vow of celibacy, subjects himself to more or less opprobrium,—or they have married many wives, and the priest will not administer the sacrament to them only on condition of their putting away all but the lawful wife; for the law allows them but one wife at a time. I believe no one receives the sacred elements without confession. The number of female communicants rather exceeds that of the men, for two reasons; first, many women, especially the wives of the great, are so secluded, that it is impossible for them to deviate from the paths of virtue; and even should that occur, they would hire a favorite priest (for there is a great choice in this class) to do penance for them; for the husband sometimes inquires whether his wife communes regularly, and if he finds she does not, he concludes that she is unfaithful; many men, however, are unwilling that their wives should participate in the sacred feast unless they also partake. The Abyssinians can have but one lawful wife at a time, whom they can very easily divorce; but they are forbidden to marry more than three during life. (There are, however, some priests, who give the communion to those who have married more.) A man who has been separated from his third wife, whether by divorce or death, is never allowed to receive the sacrament again, not even in his dying hour, unless he become a monk. It is just so with wives. The Abyssinians are, in reality much more jealous than

Bruce, judging from the character of Ras Michael, supposed them to be.

I afterward conversed a long time with Guebra Haiwat, and then with a priest, on the Lord's Supper. They call the consecration of the bread and wine, which last is raisin-juice and water, *melawate*, (a change,) and are very much afraid of explaining this term; yet, when I urged them to explain it, both of them said, that the nature of the bread and wine remains unchanged—that the bread remains bread, and the wine, wine; but that those who receive them with faith, receive Jesus Christ; and for this reason they call the bread, after consecration, flesh, and the wine, blood. Among the Abyssinians, in order that the sacrament be properly administered, not less than five priests and deacons must officiate in the service. Should a less number do it, they would suffer excommunication; yet, when I prove to them by the example of Jesus Christ and St. Paul, that a single priest is sufficient, they confess the correctness of what I assert. Many who visit me, tell me that many of the great people talk of requesting my services as Abuna, but that some oppose it.

Habeta Selasse told me of a large assembly of priests at the house of Alaca Waldab this morning, who did nothing but dispute on one single point, viz.: when it is said that Jesus Christ is our brother, one party insisted that he was so by his incarnation, and, in this sense, brother of all men; the other, that he is our brother only by the anointing of the Holy Spirit; that is, that he received the Spirit in the same manner that Christians do, and in this sense, is brother of believers only. Selasse was very much dissatisfied with this



dispute. He had before asked my opinion on this point, and I now inquired what were his views. He answered; "I believe as you do, that by his incarnation, Jesus Christ is brother of all men, for his genealogy is traced back to Adam, and all the children of Adam are brethren; he also, like the other children, is a partaker of flesh and blood. As Son of God, he is the *first-born among many brethren*; that is, among those only in whom dwells the Holy Spirit."

18th. The feast of St. Michael is celebrated to-day. I have been urged by several priests to go and kiss the church consecrated to this saint; and my refusal to go brought on a long conversation with them respecting the worship of images and the invocation of saints. The Abyssinians never attend church to hear the Word of God, seldom to pray; for they only say, "I go to kiss the church of such a saint." The common expression is, "I go to kiss St. Michael, St. George, &c.;" sometimes several churches in succession; and when they wish to convey the idea that a man is truly pious, they say, "He is a kisser of churches."

After the conversation just referred to, I went to congratulate Ozoro Waleta Teclit that her son, Dejaj Comfou, escaped the slaughter of the battle on Sunday last. Had I failed of this little attention, she would have been dissatisfied; for the Abyssinians are exceedingly fearful of being deficient in ceremonies and forms. Their manner of congratulating, however, is very simple; they only say, "He (God) has given you cause for joy;" and the other answers "Amen," or, "Do you rejoice." The Abyssinians are loth to engage in fighting on a Sunday, but Mariam is of Galla

origin, and prefers Sunday to any other day for this purpose. His soldiers, when spoken of, are called Gallas.

On returning home, I found a large collection of people before my house. I invited them in, but some were obliged to remain out for want of room in the house. There were seven or eight priests of Coscouam among the company, who had previously consulted me on the points of religion concerning which they wished to interrogate me; all of which I have before defined. These admit of two births only in Jesus Christ. When I saw that my house was insufficient for the accommodation of all present, my heart glowed with love and pity. I addressed them on the conversion of the sinner by the operation of the Holy Spirit. Closer attention than they gave, is seldom evinced in a European Protestant church. When I had finished, the priests gave me their hands, and all retired quietly together. I returned thanks to the Lord for having unloosed my tongue, for I expressed myself as easily as I could have done in Arabic; while, when treating of worldly subjects, I have often found difficulty both in understanding others and in expressing myself.

I cannot yet determine as to my being obliged to stay here through the rainy season; it being not far distant, and the merchants do not yet know whether they can go to Massowah. Formerly, the caravan from Gondar could pass between two hostile armies without any fear, but no one has confidence in Mariam now; and for my own part, seeing the people of the country dare not travel, I have no desire to go alone across a desolate country; but I have only two talaris in my purse, and, at the present time, everything in Gondar

is very dear. A small sheep sells for a talari, and scarcely teff enough is to be found for making bread. One of my servants has done nothing for a week, but run about the city in search for an opportunity to buy a little teff; but He, who feeds the birds, will feed us, according to his wisdom. Neither myself nor servants have yet suffered from hunger, but we have begun to live by the chase. Yesterday I went to seek food on a mountain near Gondar, with one of my men, but we shot two partridges only. To-day my servants brought me a fine gazelle, which two men could hardly carry. I think it better to procure a livelihood by hunting, than to beg, especially at a season when the people of the country can scarcely obtain food sufficient to sustain life.

19th. I have had a long discussion to-day with the Etchegua. We began with the anointing of Jesus Christ, because several priests and Alacas are now of my opinion, that it ought not to be called "a birth." He aimed to bring me over to his side by asking me several difficult and entangling questions; but when he saw that I eluded his bait, he proceeded to attack the question from a position entirely the reverse. I should not have thought him so artful. He denied original sin, affirming that all infants are born pure; but I believe it was only because he was so hemmed in, for he wished, by that, to prove, that as children, free of all sin and uncleanness, are born anew by baptism, so Jesus Christ, although pure and holy, had to be born anew by the operation of the Holy Spirit, in order to be the *first-born among many brethren*. (Every one must perceive how much such ideas obscure the doctrine of man's regeneration.) He designed to conclude also from his baptism, that there had not

been a child of God upon the earth since the fall of Adam ; otherwise Jesus Christ would not have been the *first-born among many brethren*. Like the Greeks and some others, the Abyssinians believe that the Old Testament saints did not enter into glory till after the death of Christ. I told him that we do not find decisive proof in the Bible that they did enter into glory before that event ; but that Jesus Christ, before his death, represents Abraham and Lazarus as being at rest ; whence we must certainly conclude that they are not in a place of torment. His reply to that was, that they were in hell, itself a place of torment, but that God had prepared them an asylum, where they felt neither grief nor pain. This conversation led us to speak of the Virgin Mary ; and when I began to prove to him that she was a sinner, his indignation rose to a degree which he would gladly have concealed ; but being unable to bring any proof from the Bible in support of his side of the question, he confined himself to maintaining that she was without sin as well as Jesus Christ. When my servants, who stood without the door, heard that the Etchegua was angry, they came in to tell him that we had much to do, and, as is customary, begged him to release me.

I retired, very much dissatisfied with the Etchegua, and still more so with myself ; for my own heart was so insensible, that I expressed myself with difficulty, and, during the whole conversation, was unable to call to mind the clearest passages of the Bible. This occasioned me sadness through the day. At times, the thought struck me, that I did wrong in allowing myself to enter into such discussions ; but when they tell me that the man Christ Jesus is a child of God

only by regeneration through grace, as we sinners are,—or that a human being is created holy and without sin, concluding thence that it is equal to its Creator and Saviour God, I cannot refrain from openly avowing my sentiments, and confirming them by testimony from the Word of God; although I am thereby led into controversies which I would much rather avoid. My opinion of the Abyssinians varies almost every day that I am in their country. One day I rejoice in the hope that success will soon crown the Abyssinian mission, to the glory of God, and the salvation of this poor people; at other times, I see so much occasion to fear that all attempts to accomplish this glorious object will finally prove unavailing, that I cannot but be sad and depressed. God, however, gives me grace at times to cast all my cares on him.

20th. *Sunday.* This morning I had a visit from a female Falasha, who is regarded at Gondar as the queen of the boudas or soocerers. She evinces all the attachment to her people and the Law, combined with all the activity of an ancient Jewish woman. She came to ask me whether, as she had heard, I really desired to see a learned Falasha. On my replying in the affirmative, she promised to bring me one, but said this most learned priest lived at Tehelga. Several people were in at the time, and one man, who considers himself very learned, began a controversy with her; but she closed his mouth. I did not think it my duty to engage in this discussion, lest I should identify my sentiments with the errors of the Abyssinians; but when the Jewess had withdrawn, I showed the Christian that he had been confuted only in consequence of not knowing the Word



of God. The Jewess spoke with some bitterness against Jesus Christ, which I would not have alluded to, except to show that enmity to the Anointed of God is found in every part of the world, modified only according to the intellectual capacities of the people.

The following is, in brief, the substance of her account of the birth of our Saviour:—The Virgin was confined from her earliest youth in an apartment of the Temple, or one of the synagogues. The archangel Michael, who was the constant and watchful guardian of consecrated places, seeing this poor, forsaken girl, thus shut up and secluded from the delights of society, was moved with compassion towards her. He transformed himself into the likeness of a man, succeeded in gaining her affections, and took up his abode with her. She soon gave indications that a third person was to be added to their number, and was indignantly spurned from the sacred precincts of the temple. She took refuge in the house of a nobleman, but here she received little else than insult and outrage; she was again driven from her shelter, and pursued with such violence, that she was wearied down in the way, and there, in that forlorn situation, gave birth to our Saviour, and immediately expired. The orphan infant there lay in its loneliness beside the corpse of its mother, but a large white eagle was soon seen winging its way to the place, took up the child, and bore it high into the air. The multitude witnessing this singular event were seized with fear, and cried out, "It is a God." From that time the orphan son has been called the Christ, and has received that adoration which is due to the Deity alone.

I made some inquiries of this woman concerning the time

when the Jews were supposed to have emigrated to Abyssinia. She replied, that Solomon had a son by the queen of Sheba, named Menilac, who so strikingly resembled his father, that the people of Jerusalem often mistook the prince for the king. The latter, becoming jealous, sent him away, bidding him go and take possession of the kingdom of Ethiopia. Menilac obeyed the royal mandate, and left his paternal dominions, accompanied by great numbers of his countrymen; but in leaving the holy city, he took the precaution not to go without some memento of the religion of his fathers, and made choice of the ark of the covenant. He had the hardihood to prosecute his journey on the Sabbath, and coming to a river on that holy day, he, together with a part of his company, passed over, bearing their sacred memorial with them. From that time, he became a Christian, as well as all who crossed the stream with him. The Falashas are those who remained firm in the faith of Moses, and refused to pass the river on the Sabbath. The ark has since been lodged in the city of Axum, but is inaccessible to Christians; and only a few Falashas are able to approach it. When an uncommonly learned or pious Falasha draws near that part of the wall where the ark rests, it immediately divides itself to the right and left, and thus continues till the devotee has entered in, completed his adorations, and returned.

The Falashas have the same histories of past times as the Christians of Abyssinia; only they are modelled according to the Jewish form. But having yet found no learned man, I can obtain little or no information from them.

21st. I passed a great part of the day in visiting the mer-

chants of my acquaintance, to see if I could find some one of sufficient courage to accompany me to Tigre. One only, Stif Augueda, was willing to go with me; but the priests opposed him, saying that he would expose himself to death, and his family to ruin. They have excommunicated him, in consequence of his persisting in his intention to go. Thus I find myself obliged to remain in Gondar through the rainy season. Mariam is now at Antchatecab, and is said to be destroying all in his power. When he sends his soldiers to plunder the villages, he orders them to kill all within their reach, sparing neither women, children, nor priests.

22d. This morning, the Jewess who called the other day, came again, with her son. All in the house, looking upon her as the most terrible of the boudas, begged me not to let her enter. When she was out of hearing, I suffered them to relate several stories of boudas—how they metamorphose themselves into hyenas, and their enemies into cows, cats, and even stones; restoring them to their former state only when compelled, by being known and accused before the judges; besides which, they drink the blood of their friends, however distant, until the object of their greediness dies of exhaustion. There are some of the people who are concerned for me; but the greater part of them say, that the boudas can do nothing to a man who is acquainted with the Scriptures.

I passed the whole afternoon with Lic Atecou, Habeta Selasse, and some others, discussing the propriety of worshipping images, the invocation of saints, the doctrine of the eucharist, faith and good works, the operation of the Holy Spirit in the heart of Christians, and the influence of the

devil on the children of disobedience ; but Lie Atecou runs so rapidly from one subject to another, that there is no discussing any subject with him thoroughly. In endeavoring to justify the worship of images, he made an observation which I had not before heard. He said to me, "Do you not worship the bread and wine of the eucharist?"

"No, we only worship God in Jesus Christ ; but, supposing we did worship it, what is your conclusion?"

"The bread and wine of the eucharist are not the true body of Jesus Christ ; they are the representation only, as images represent certain individuals."

"We have no evidence that the apostles worshipped the bread and wine of the eucharist. That it is the true representation of the body of Christ, and of his blood shed for the remission of our sins, I grant, for Jesus Christ himself has taught us this ; but the Word of God condemns both the making and the worship of images."

Habeta Selasse spoke very little. Finally, I told them that the pernicious and ungodly works of the Abyssinians are the corrupt fruits growing on the corrupt tree of their creed. This introduced the subject of missions. All united in pronouncing the Abyssinians very culpable for not sending missionaries to the Gallas, who would be very ready to embrace Christianity.

25th. For three days I have wished to write some letters by two or three young friends who leave to-morrow evening for Tigre ; but I have had so many people about me, that I have not yet been able to finish a single one. It appears that there is much talk in the city about my conversations with some of the priests respecting confession and absolu-

tion; for almost all who visit me begin conversation with this subject. As much is said at the present time of the cruelty of Mariam, and the general misery of the country, I endeavor to make them feel, that it is because they have forsaken God, that he has departed from them; which truth they generally acknowledge. I also freely tell them, that the priests are the cause of the corruption and misery of the people; and this many hesitate not to acknowledge. When I tell them that Abyssinia will never be in a better condition till they turn to God, they generally look at one another without speaking; sometimes, they say, "*This is the only man in the country who is not afraid to tell us the truth.*"

26th. The weather to-day has been unpleasant, so that I have seen no one except Achaber. As I know him to be sincerely attached to me, I asked him if he could not lend me a little money. Tears came into his eyes as he said to me, "My dear friend, no merchandise has been brought into the city for some months; I am obliged to give five thousand talaris yearly to Mariam, and am in the same want as yourself, for I have but a single talari. I am now waiting for a caravan from Derita; should it not fail, I will willingly share whatever it brings with you, without requiring any remuneration in return. If it should not come, and you can obtain money from no other quarter, I have a good gun to dispose of, the proceeds of which may support us both awhile, and then God will provide." Achaber is a warrior, and gifted with much judgment. He is a true Abyssinian, cherishing a high respect for the Word of God, without an understanding of it. In the execution of his office he is



tyrannical; he extorts from almost all the merchants; but towards his friends is generous, and, at times, will most ungrudgingly spare even his indispensable garments for the relief of the poor, or the benefit of the churches.

27th. *Sunday.* Habeta Selasse told me that Alaca Wal-dab, and all his family, are suffering from hunger. He expended his last two talaris yesterday for food, and has fifteen persons at his table. He is Alaca of a church belonging to Oubea, which accounts for his being thus straitened.

28th. I have had visitors to-day from far and near, of every kind, Jews, Mussulmans, and Christians. A priest, who was here, said to two Falashas, that all belonging to their sect were boudas. The poor Falashas were a little offended. One of them replied very gravely, "We are not boudas. Supposing even that we were; first, you have no proof of it, therefore you affirm a thing which you do not know, which is much the same as false testimony. Secondly, if boudas exist, you are obliged to believe that they can do nothing contrary to the will of God; consequently they cannot harm those who have true faith in God. Thus your groundless fear of boudas only proves your total want of faith in the God of Israel." Then turning himself to me, he said, "Now you, who know God, judge whether I am not right." I was astonished at his eloquence, and was compelled to pronounce him right, in the presence of all the rest. I was unable to learn anything further about the Falashas. I interrogated them considerably, but their uniform reply was, "We know nothing; you must inquire of one of our learned men."

29th. I have had but two or three visits to-day, and these

were short. I passed the rest of the day in reading hymns, and examining my own heart; but, alas! I discovered so much evil and so little good, that I was compelled to spend some hours in weeping, and beseeching God to have pity upon me, and renew my heart entirely after his image.

30th. This morning the king sent for me with a request to visit himself and daughter, both of whom are somewhat indisposed. As I approached the palace, I heard shouts of joy from several female voices at once. I inquired the meaning of all this, when one of the servants of the king replied; "Eight days ago, the king caused a hand and both the feet of a thief to be cut off; and then left him in his suffering and in his blood, in the middle of the market. During the night, the hyenas devoured him; and the king regretted the next day that he had suffered him to be left unguarded. He demanded two hundred and fifty talaris from the merchants in whose neighborhood the thief was thrown, because they did not guard him through the night. As they refused to comply with this demand, the king put them in irons; but they have paid the money this morning, and the king has released them; and their wives have now come to express their gratitude to him." Many blame the king for this act; others say that his conduct was in conformity with an ancient law, which requires the people in the vicinity, when a man is thus thrown into the street, to guard him till they receive orders from the king to abandon him to his fate.

The Etchegua sent for me this afternoon, to dine at his house with several priests and others; fifty or sixty persons in all. I had just taken dinner; so that while the others

were at table, all were very attentive to a long conversation I held with the Etehegua on the anointing of Jesus Christ; and on account of those present, I gave a kind of sermon on the regeneration of sinful man by the operation of the Holy Spirit. Dinner being over, the Etehegua commanded silence, and, as a kind of approval of my discourse, said to the company, "Samuel gives us many new ideas. He says that Jesus Christ received the Holy Spirit as true Christians receive it; with this difference, that it was given to him without measure, (John iii. 34;) while to us it is meted out in certain portions. This is what he calls 'anointing;' but he says it ought not to be called 'a birth,' because the influence of the Holy Spirit in us consists in this, that it turns us *from darkness to light*, from sin to righteousness, and *from the power of Satan to God*. Till we receive the Holy Spirit we are children of the devil, dead in sin; but when this Spirit is given to us, it produces in us a new life, regenerating us after the image of God, which we had lost by sin; and all this is called in the Gospel a 'new birth.' But Jesus Christ had no need of this great change;—no need of becoming a child of God through grace, because he was such by nature. So when it is said that he was anointed by the Holy Spirit, it was to constitute him prophet, priest, king, and Christ, the Saviour. Samuel is always particularly careful to caution us against receiving anything but the Bible as a sure, unerring rule of faith and conduct. We never were taught so before." The priests seemed to applaud his observations, because he expressed himself as agreeing with me. Before they touched upon a new topic of discourse, I begged leave to retire.

July 3d. For the last few days I have been low both in body and mind. I have not been out, and have had but few visitors, with most of whom I did nothing but read the Gospel, and make the necessary remarks.

4th. *Sunday*. This morning I had a visit from a young man who comes to see me often, but he has never attracted my attention particularly, excepting that he invariably asks for the Gospel when he first comes in, and spends whole hours in reading by himself. He expressed his regret to-day that he had not had an earlier acquaintance with me, while I was distributing the Gospel; and added, "I know it is in the Word of God only that I can find the way of salvation, which I seek with all my heart. I read Ethiopic well, but do not sufficiently understand it to be willing to place much dependence on what I read."

Next came a monk, wrapped up in a sheepskin, and proud of his self-righteousness. He is much respected and feared by the Etchegua and the king, on account of his fearlessness in reproving with deserved severity. He introduced conversation by saying to me; "I am unwell; and because I know you to be a friend of God, I feel a confidence in you which induces me to take the liberty of telling you the occasion of my present ill health. Some time ago, when living in the mountains, I bound my body so strongly with chains, that I broke one of my hips. I then beat myself with a stick till my whole body was covered with bruises. To all this I added a continual fast, which has entirely ruined my health; but I console myself with the reflection that I submitted to these painful inflictions from love to God, and a strong desire for my own salvation." I began

my reply by proving to him, that all these mortifications of the body were not only useless, but actually criminal; because he submitted to them from no other motives than a vain desire of being saved by his own righteousness. I next showed him, from several passages of the Bible, how man, a sinner, can be justified and saved, only by the grace of God through Jesus Christ. To my great surprise, instead of bringing forward the objections which the self-righteous usually present, he only replied to each passage that I cited, "Is it possible that it can be thus?" While we were talking together, a woman entered; he turned directly from her, saying; "After having made the vow of celibacy, we may no longer look on a woman, nor listen to her voice." "Whether," said I, "a man be a monk, or of any other profession, it is our duty at all times, to covenant with our eyes not to look upon vanity; but this is attacking evil only on its weak side; the source of evil lies in our own hearts. And if we have once yielded our hearts up to the purifying influence of the grace of God, and if the Holy Spirit fill them with love for our Saviour, there will no longer exist any law obliging us to turn away our faces from any whom we may instruct and console; but it will be sweet to us to avoid everything which would tend to weaken our love for God. Suffer the Spirit of God to do its work in you, converting your heart; you will then be able to serve the Lord in holiness, and in the *glorious liberty of the children of God*." "You are right," answered the monk; "but my heart is corrupt; I feel that Satan dwells there, and how to obtain deliverance I know not." I advised him to look to a crucified Jesus, who giveth us the victory over sin and death.



I have had numerous visitors in the course of the day ; but could have no connected conversation with any, because war and famine are now the absorbing subjects of interest to the whole people. A young man inquired of me, " Who is the Creator of the Mussulmans ? " In explaining to him the cause of error, I told him, among other things, that the same God who created us, created the *Shangalas*, (Negroes,) and that they are children of Adam as well as ourselves. On hearing this, he struck his breast, and exclaimed, " What ! the Shangalas then are our brethren ! Why then do we make slaves of them ? " There are Abyssinians, though few in number, who, like this young man, are strongly inclined to polytheism, cherishing an idea that men of different religious views have different creators. The generality, however, believe that all religions were founded by God, and that each is the one most adapted to him who is born in it ; and that separate places will be assigned them in heaven. I doubt not, that their ardent attachment to their relatives is, with many, the only obstacle in the way of their changing their religion.

6th. I passed the forenoon with two men, one from Wagara, and other an Edjow-Galla ; who, although extremely ignorant, is now by profession an Abyssinian Christian, and, like many other Gallas, gifted with much talent. They soon began to dispute about the superiority of their origin, which led to the subject of religion, and to the doctrine of man's justification before God. The man of Wagara maintained, that man is justified and saved by a strict observance of fasts, by the giving of alms, by regular confessions, and by communing at the appointed seasons. The

Galla said, "All that is good, but never will save us; it is by doing good, avoiding lying, theft, and the like, that we are justified." As they could come to no agreement, they both inquired of me the way by which men may be saved. I explained the subject to them, first, by showing them the nature of sin, and its consequences. Then I read to them Jesus Christ's sermon on the Mount, adding a few appropriate remarks. As often as I wished to stop, the Galla begged me to go on, till I had read the whole sermon.

I spent this afternoon with Habeta Selasse, in reading the second and succeeding chapters of the Apocalypse. He observed that the Abyssinians generally have a very peculiar mode of explaining the fifth chapter. They affirm, that the sealed book there spoken of, signifies the Virgin Mary; and that no being ever existed, or ever will exist, either in heaven or on earth, worthy to become her son, save Jesus Christ; "but," he added, "this exposition does not satisfy me; I cannot receive it." This is a specimen of their interpretations of Scripture. What will not men who are left of God believe?

7th. I said to a young man this morning, "The Abyssinians are of Jewish origin, and they still bear many marks of it;" he was at once in such a rage as even to insult me; telling me that I was a mean fellow, a liar, &c. In the meantime, one of the first Alacas of Gondar came in, to whom the young man immediately addressed himself, saying, "Here is a man who has come from a distant country to insult us; he tells us that we have no faith, and that we are heathens and Jews."

"We are neither heathens nor Jews," said the Alaca; "we are Christians."

"It is true that I said to this young man that you have no faith in this country; for I see and hear nothing but your bad works on every side."

"We have faith, but we have not works," continued the Alaca.

"St. James says that *faith without works is dead*; that is to say, it does not exist; and Jesus Christ says, that *the tree is known by its fruit*. When I said to this young man that you were Jews, I only meant to say that you were in part descendants of the Jews, since you yourselves affirm that your royal family is descended from King Solomon."

"That is true; but we do not call David and Solomon, Jews. We are of the race of Israel; but we give the name of Jews to none but those whose distinguishing characteristic is the rejection of Christ."

"Well; since you acknowledge so much, I will again prove to you that you are Jews for the same reason. True, you confess Christ with the mouth, but, since you regard not his commands, you reject him by your works. And did you exercise faith in him, you would not invoke saints and angels. The distinguishing feature which St. Paul ascribes to the Jews in consequence of their rejection of Jesus Christ is, that they seek to be justified by works, and that they do not *attain unto righteousness*. You, in like manner, setting aside the merits of Christ and his righteousness, labor to obtain justification by your works, such as fasting, alms, kissing the churches, and the like; and yet you do not attain unto righteousness, as is clearly proved by your works. You are

then in pressing need of the converting grace of God to make you a truly Christian people." Upon this, the young man was on the point of again showing the violence of his anger; but the Alaca restrained him, and both left without making any reply.

Sth. Kidam Mariam has become security for the loan to me of twenty *talaris*, at ten per cent. interest, for three months; the usual rate at Gondar and in all the interior is, I believe, a hundred and twenty per cent. yearly interest. It is said of the priests of Couarata, who are very wealthy, that they demand two hundred and forty per cent. yearly interest for money loaned.

I afterward went to the Etchegua's house, where I found some learned men of the country, disputing on the subject of the anointing of Christ. The Etchegua's principal opponent was Alaca Angueda, the first priest of Coscouam. There are too many subtleties in these discussions for them to bear reporting. I believe I have already noticed all that can be said of them. Each party carried his point to extremes. Suddenly addressing himself to all present, the Etchegua observed; "No one has yet given me a clear idea on the anointing of Jesus Christ, but Samuel, when he compared it to the anointing of prophets, priests, and kings in the Old Testament; let us refer the matter to-day to his decision." I expressed my views of the subject as I have before done; and the discussion ended. The Etchegua then inquired of me as to the form of the table in our churches.\*

\* The Abyssinians call it *tabot*, (ark:) it is the principal object of their adoration. When there is no *tabot* in it, the church is no more to them than a common house.

"It has not always the same form, but is like a common house table, because when Jesus Christ instituted the Lord's Supper, he did so on a common table, as he had just supped with the twelve Apostles."

"What kind of bread do you use in the communion? Do you make the impression of images on it, or simply the cross?"

"We stamp neither an image nor a cross on it, because Jesus Christ took the common bread of the table."

The Etchegua then remarked to the priests; There never came a man into Abyssinia like Samuel, who proves everything he says by the Word of God, and who always persists in his rejection of every other book when he has anything to prove. The English are certain in all parts of their religion, because they admit the Bible alone; while we often know not even the origin of our ceremonies and articles of faith."

Conversing to-day with an individual concerning the present war, he related the following anecdote. Two priests were recently on their way from Samen to Gondar, traversing the district occupied by the army of Mariam. One morning, one of them solemnly said to his companion, "This will prove an eventful day to us; for ere the sun which is now rising in his splendor shall obscure his beams in the west, one of us will be wounded, the other slain." Not long after, they encountered the Gallas, soldiers of Mariam, who, according to the prediction, wounded one, and slew the other, cutting off his head; but instead of blood, pure milk flowed from his severed veins. A man by the name of Onena, who is regarded as a saint, being concealed in the bushes near by,



seeing the miracle, immediately issued forth from his retreat, that he might die beside the slaughtered priest; and in consequence of his faith, and his uniform and earnest desire to be saved, the same miracle was repeated in his case. The soldiers, however, who were present and who perpetrated the deed, as the authors of the report acknowledge, saw nothing but blood.

9th. Peace has been reported for some days past; but positive information of it has not reached Gondar till to-day. When the Gallas are desirous of contracting a perpetual friendship, they always aim to cement the bonds by effecting a marriage. For this reason, Oubea is to marry the daughter of his friend, the deceased Ras Iman, brother of Mariam; but this will probably occasion a fresh war with Tigre. It is said that Oubea is very much offended with Sebagadis, his father-in-law and brother-in-law, because he has not been to assist him in this war. Had he not confidently calculated upon his services, he says he would not have delayed accepting peace till his country was half ruined. Sebagadis had sent troops to his assistance, whose aid Oubea refused, because he did not himself appear at their head.

\* \* \* \* \*

August 30th, 1830. Thanks to my Saviour, who has again raised me from a bed of languishing and pain! May I, in seasons of health and activity as well as in sickness and in sorrow, feel an unreserved consecration to his service.

The illness with which I have been afflicted, began by a violent attack of fever, on the 10th of July, and for two days continued without cessation, from ten o'clock in the

morning till ten at night. Then, for twelve days, it assumed the appearance of a tertian fever, producing a coldness in the hands and feet, which it was impossible by any means to warm, either by day or night. During the eight succeeding days, I suffered the most violent pains in all my limbs and in my back ; and my eyes have been peculiarly painful from the first day to the present time. When these severe pains left me, the disease concentrated in my stomach, which remained considerably swollen for several days. Having no suitable medicines with me, I consented at last to submit to what is considered by the Abyssinians a capital remedy. I began by drinking, as a purgative, a large glass-full of butter with a little honey. The day following, I took the same dose as an emetic. The third day, I repeated the potion again as a cathartic ; which relieved me of a quantity of worms apparently long dead ; lastly, I swallowed a double dose of the same as an emetic, after which, my appetite returned, and I soon regained my usual health.

During the whole of this sickness, I had to combat the belief in sorcerers. All tried to persuade me that I was the object of the greediness of one of the Falashas who came to see me the preceding day ; from this little circumstance, I no longer wonder that weak minds should imbibe the notions of the Abyssinians on this point. But I admire the goodness of God, who preserved me from delirium, while everything about me seemed calculated to rob me of my reason. For instance ; one day, when I was very weak, besides my servants and others who came in just to look at me, a dozen persons were round my bed all day, very desirous of convincing me that I was being internally devoured by boudas.

I said to them, "My dear friends, do not trouble me! I know I cannot make you believe that your notions and fears about boudas are entirely groundless, and prove your want of faith; but I know, also, that I am in the hands of God, and that even were every Abyssinian a bouda, they could not pluck a single hair from my head without the permission of my Saviour."

"You are right with regard to the soul," they replied; "but do you not know that Satan has done much evil to the saints?"

"I know it; but you cannot prove that boudas have even an existence."

Looking at one another, they replied, "That is just the proof of what we say; for those who are the prey of sorcerers will not even believe that they exist."

They then related a number of stories in a very grave manner, and added, "Was not such an one devoured by boudas, for so long? Is not such an one dead? Have I not myself been ill of them?" &c. My servant, Malo, a little less superstitious than the rest, agreed with me at first; but his confidence was soon shaken, and I was left to combat alone. When I spoke to them in a serious tone, they said softly among themselves, and to me, "See! this solemnity is proof positive that the boudas have made him the victim of their malice." When I smiled, they repeated this explanation in the same terms. I wished to send them out of the house, that I might gain a little rest; but they all cried out together, "Now we have the most incontestable evidence that you are the prey of the boudas, since you cannot bear the presence of those who wish to deliver you from

their power!" While I was speaking with one part of them, the others crept round my bed to hide some amulets in it; but I instantly rummaged them out, and flung them under my mule's feet. At last, they took me by force, and while some endeavored to tie my hands and feet, others brought great bundles of amulets to tie about my neck. "What!" said I to them, "can I submit to all this—I, who tell everybody that amulets are the device of the devil, and the invention of deluded idolaters?" Seeing that I produced no effect, I said to Malo, "Take care of yourself! If you suffer them to put amulets in my bed, I will discard you." Upon that, they dispensed with the amulets, but begged me to try the other known remedies against the boudas, to which I directly consented, with an air of indifference. They began by giving me a powder similar to bark; then they sprinkled my body and bed with the juice of a certain herb; then they introduced another herb into my nostrils, &c. During this commotion, I was affected to tears, by reflecting on the ignorance and misery of this benighted people.

I lost the esteem of many priests during my illness, from my unwillingness to send for a father-confessor; and still more, perhaps, from my non-observance of the fifteen days' fast, in memory of the death, resurrection, and ascension of the Virgin Mary. Emmaha and his family had begged me to fast these fifteen days for their sake, and I had nearly determined to do so, although their meagre fare is very unwholesome, till I was told in the presence of several persons but two days before the fast, that an old priest in the neighborhood had declared, that unless I did fast, he would be the means of my death. He had not said in what manner

he would effect it, but when I saw that the people believed he would do it by his prayers, I publicly avowed my fixed determination not to fast, for the purpose of showing this priest to be a deceiver and a liar. The priests are afraid to say much against me, for when they begin their opposition, there is almost always some one ready to say to them, "Hold your tongue! he has cast out a demon that all the priests of Gondar could not cast out;" alluding to Ozoro Waleta Teclit's brother.

I recently listened to a conversation relating to the character and conduct of the Abyssinian priests and monks, between Malo and a woman, who spoke, apparently, from experience. He began by remarking, that the priests of this country are extremely wicked and profligate in their lives, and that living at their ease on the bounties of others, they know little but the arts of corrupting the purity, and degrading the morals of the community. The woman seemed somewhat moved at the declaration, and made, in substance, the following reply. "Speak not thus severely of the priests; you know not the difficulties with which they are perpetually forced to contend; for no class of men have to struggle with so many temptations and trials as they are called to endure, in consequence of their love to God. They are, indeed, filled with the Spirit, but the devil is ever near them, whispering in their ears to excite them to evil." This is an opinion generally prevalent in Abyssinia; it being supposed when the priests fall, as they often do, that they have been influenced to the infamous deed by the subtle suggestions of a devil.

I have reason to believe that my sickness will not prove,



in the end, to have been without some advantage, although I do not yet see the benefits of it. Whenever the weather allowed of going out, my house was full of people, to whom I preached the Gospel, according to the strength given me by God. I now avoid discussions as much as possible, and always aim to direct the conversation to the internal corruption of man, and the unspeakable love of God toward sinners. Several of the young people appear affected, though they are not in the habit of communicating their feelings to me very freely. I hope God will make his Word *quick and powerful* in them! I see very few priests; but, from time to time, I collect some of the youth together, and relate to them the history of the Bible, with such remarks as most naturally present themselves; and when any one of them is alone with me, he gives me an account of such portions as he has retained. Two of them repeat what they have heard almost word for word. For some time past, I have had in my service a young man named Guebrou, who, should the grace of God continue to work in him, appears destined to great usefulness. Every leisure moment, he is engaged in reading the Bible, and can scarcely be made to leave it for taking his food. Whenever he reads the Gospel, he discovers in it these three things—the love of God—the corruption of his past life, (but not yet that of his whole heart)—and the wickedness of the priests. As yet, he is a mere beginner; but should the Spirit of God render the Word effectual in him, he will not fear to declare the grounds of his faith in the presence of the whole world.

Sept. 3d. From a very early hour in the morning till one o'clock this afternoon, I had my house full of people. As a

new company reached the door, the preceding one would leave. I was enabled either to avoid, or cut short, the perpetual discussions on the two or three births of Jesus Christ, by constantly requesting them to ask themselves this question ; "What is a birth ?" They commonly remain silent, unless I press them, when they all answer, "We do not know." I then say to them ; "Thus you see, that for three centuries, you have been disputing about a word, which, to you, has no meaning." On this remark, they usually say to one another, "This is the Abuna that we need to enlighten and reconcile us. The Abunas who come from Egypt are ignorant ; they only add darkness to our darkness." On my explaining the word "birth" to them to-day, they were all enraptured. One said, "Now I understand this point ;" and another, "It seems to me that I also see it more clearly. I wish to reflect upon it more." My explanation was as follows :—"A birth is a passing from darkness to light. David says, that God forms us in darkness. (*I was made in secret*, Psalm cxxxix. 15.) The birth of the body is, then, a passage from darkness to the light of this world. The Word of God everywhere declares, that before conversion, all men are spiritually plunged in darkness ; and it distinguishes those who are converted, or born anew, as the *children of light*. Thus the birth of Jesus Christ of the Virgin Mary, is, like our physical birth, a passing from darkness to the light of this world. The Holy Scriptures assert also, that God dwells in darkness. He is light in himself, but a light inaccessible to all creatures ; to them, therefore, he is darkness. Now Jesus Christ is called the visible image of the invisible God ; that is to say,

if we may so speak, He is come out from the darkness in which the Divine essence dwells, to manifest himself to the creatures, and in them to manifest himself. This is what is called the divine birth of Jesus Christ before the creation of the world ; and is, in one sense, a passing from darkness to light. Now where does the Word of God speak either of the act or consequences of a third birth ?" Would one escape the stigma either of extreme ignorance or cunning, he cannot avoid explaining himself on this question.

4th. This morning I went to see the Etchegua, who is ill. On going out I found Alaca Stephanos, by whom I was introduced to Ayto Googsa, son of Dejaj Sedat, who has for some time wished to see me. Immediately upon my entering, he told me he had seen one of the copies of the Gospel which I had distributed, and that it was his heart's desire to obtain one. Several persons stood around him, who interrogated me about England, till the sky was overcast with clouds, and I rose to return home before the rain. Googsa then said to me with an air of sadness, " It was not for this conversation that I was anxious to see you. I should be glad to speak with you about the Gospel, and to place myself under your instruction ; but come again after to-morrow if you can."

As I entered my house again, Alaca Waca and Guebra Haiwat came in. They immediately directed the conversation to the anointing or third birth of Jesus Christ. I questioned them upon the nature of a birth, and explained it to them as yesterday. I closed the conversation as usual, by some remarks upon the misery of man, and the immense love of God, who became man to save us by his sufferings

and death. This idea always appears to touch them, but the Spirit of God alone can give them a lively and effectual sense of the love of the Redeemer. I pray him also to render quick and powerful those words of mine, the coldness and deadness of which I have too frequent cause to deplore.

5th *Sunday*. To-day a young man, and not among the most ignorant, asked me if Sunday (Sanbat) was a great saint; as his feast is celebrated every week, while those of other great saints, as St. Michael and St. George, are celebrated only once a month. All the beggars personify Sunday, asking alms for love of Sunday, as for the love of a saint; adding, "May Sunday keep you! May Sunday justify you!"—I sometimes hear people call the Archangel Michael, God.

6th. I passed the forenoon with Lej Googsa and his people. I read to them the first chapter of St. John and fifth of St. Matthew, adding some appropriate remarks. Googsa told me, that one of Cantiba Cassai's friends having recently been very ill, Cassai laid the Gospel which I had given him on his heart, and in one single night he was perfectly restored.

7th. Lic Atecou came, as usual, with some of his friends, to take his lesson in geography. Some time ago I happened to say, that the sun does not turn round the earth, but the earth revolves round the sun to receive the genial influences imparted by that luminary. Since then, a few of the most learned people of the city assemble at my house occasionally, to receive lessons in geography, which they regard mainly as a study of the works of God, necessary to the understanding of the Bible. To these lessons, I add a little

of the history of nations; for I find, that next to the Bible, nothing suggests remarks more touching to the hearts of these ignorant people than history.

Before separating, however, our conversation took a different turn; they unitedly deplored the evils inflicted on the church by the causeless divisions and consequent disputation among the various sects of Christians. Lic Atecou added; "The ambition of Patriarchs and Bishops has been the fundamental cause of all this evil."

10th. The feast in commemoration of the death of St. John the Baptist, is celebrated to-day. All the city of Gondar went this morning to bathe in the rivulet called Caha, to the west of the city, where the church of St. John the Baptist is situated. Till noon, the stream was full of men, women, children and horses, confusedly mingled together; some partly dressed, but more than a third without any covering. I was invited by several individuals to go, but I refused to leave my house, rather than countenance this indecent custom on any occasion. It is not a religious act; and yet, some would condemn themselves unless they did go. Two women, who went to bathe before light this morning, were drowned. The Abyssinians have a similar ceremony, which they call Baptism, in the month of January, to commemorate the baptism of Jesus Christ. This is conducted with rather more propriety, because it is a religious act, the two sexes bathing separately in almost every instance. The priests stand on the most elevated spot, with the ark of the churches and crosses to bless the water; the people then throw themselves in, all together, plunging beneath the water, and instantly rising out again.



After bathing, several Alacas came in company with each other to my house, and being of two opposite parties, at once began their controversy on the births of Jesus Christ. The principal point of difference, as far as it can be described, is this:—The one party say that Jesus Christ received the Holy Spirit as a man, that he might accomplish the work of his mission as perfect man; that, consequently, the Holy Spirit, dwelling in him, was not inherent in his human nature, but was given him by the Father, in the same manner as to us; this is what they call a third birth. The union of the Divinity with the humanity took place, according to them, at the moment of conception, and by this union, Jesus Christ, the man, became by grace, that is to say, by gift, the Child or Son of God, at that precise moment; therefore, when asked to what party they belong, they reply, “I am for THE UNION!” The others, few in number at Gondar, say that Jesus Christ anointed himself; that he received nothing from the Father; and that the word “anointing” means that Jesus Christ, as man, was conceived by the Holy Spirit; and that he is, as man, the Son of God by nature; and consequently, Flesh (the man Jesus Christ) is the Creator of the universe. They say, “I am for THE ANOINTING!” This confusion of words has placed these two parties at such variance, that they have not received the sacrament together for some years. At Gojam, they excommunicate and curse each other. Gojam and Tigre are principally for THE ANOINTING; the others are generally attached to THE UNION.

After a long dispute, they all begged of me an explicit statement of my own opinion on this point. Rather than

offend them by a refusal, I explained it to them as on other occasions. All then said to me ; "If we had an Abuna like you, he would of himself be able to reconcile us." I afterward censured them severely for spending their lives in disputing on words and points comprehended by none of them, rather than in constant meditation on the love of the Saviour, who became man to bear *our sins in his own body on the tree* ; and in examining their own hearts, to learn whether they have been anointed by the Holy Spirit, and have part in the redemption of Jesus. I finished my remarks to them by saying ; "I am sure that when you read the Bible, your mind is engaged in looking out for such passages only as may favor your particular opinion, rather than in searching for the whole truth." Most of them replied to this, "It is true ; for myself, I only look for passages to prove what I already believe." Those of the UNION party added, "We would willingly renounce the expression, 'third birth,' to effect a reconciliation ;" but the other party remained silent.

12th. *Sunday*. I have been visited to-day, only by Habeta Selasse and Guebra Haiwat ; we passed the afternoon in pleasant conversation on the difference which ought to be observed between the Word of God and all human writings whatsoever ; on the depravity of the human heart, and its only remedy, the redemption by Jesus Christ.

13th. Passed the forenoon with a priest, who asked several questions concerning true prayer, both public and private, concerning conversion, the remission of sins, the witness of the Holy Spirit in the hearts of believers, &c. My replies to him were apparently satisfactory. To his question, whether we honored the saints, I replied ; "We

neither worship them nor pray to them, for we owe divine honor to God our Saviour alone. The only homage we think due from us to the saints, is an imitation of their faith and good works." "On this point," said he, "you are much nearer the truth than we are."

A day or two since, two women were struck down in the middle of the market by a stroke of lightning, and were supposed to have been killed; but I have just learned that they revived at the moment their friends were letting them into the grave.

14th. Great dissatisfaction with the king is now prevalent. On Saturday last, a tree in the centre of the market was blasted by lightning, and as the wood on which a thunderbolt has fallen is greatly valued by the Abyssinians as an excellent medicine, several individuals seized this opportunity for securing some of the desired article. When this reached the ears of the king, he imprisoned all who had taken any of the wood, till they should pay such sums of money as he was pleased to exact from them;—not proportioning the fine to the fault, but to the fortunes of the individuals. They talk, very generally, of dethroning him soon as the Abuna shall have arrived from Egypt.

17th. My house, for several of the last days, has been crowded with people, who came to express their regret that I so soon leave for Tigre. Many entreated me to recommend Abyssinia to my friends in England, and to use my influence in prevailing upon the English to send them troops in order to restore peace and quiet to their troubled country. Lic Atecou always urges me to send learned men, to instruct the people. His philanthropy, rather than any just ideas of

union in Christ, has kindled in his heart longing desires for the reunion of nominally Christian sects ; believing, as he does, that rich blessings on the whole earth would unavoidably result from such a reunion.

Latterly, I have had frequent conversations on the two natures in Jesus Christ. For some length of time, I habitually limited myself to advising the people to drop the word "nature," and to say that Jesus Christ is truly God and truly man. I now endeavor to prove to their understanding, that those who ascribe two natures to Christ, have as much reason at least on their side, as those who impute to him but one ; and this produces no unpleasant effect on them.

When I told the Etchegua to-day in the presence of several Alacas, that I should leave in a few days, he cried out, "Behold ! our hope is lost !" What he meant by this, I do not know. The others expressed their regret at seeing me about to leave ; but I am sufficiently acquainted with the Abyssinian character, to know what weight to attach to their words.

This evening I was anxious to bathe ; but the people in my house opposed me very strongly, and shut the door ; refusing to open it till I promised them I would dispense with bathing to-day. The Abyssinians believe that in the afternoon, all the waters are infested by evil spirits. At Gondar, it is the prevailing belief, that the Augrab, which flows by the side of the city, is the constant abode of a demon. When a person is drowned, which is a frequent occurrence during the rainy season, his death is invariably attributed to the malign influence of the demon in the river. This

occasioned their saying to me to-day ; “ Were we to let you go, in your simplicity, it would be as if we threw you into the hands of the demon, who would kill you. God would bring us to account for your death.”

19th. *Sunday*. I spent the afternoon with Habeta Selasse and Lic Atecou. Habeta Selasse opened his whole heart to me in reference to certain acts of his past life, in a manner which leaves me no room to doubt his entire confidence in me. He is, at times, very sensible of his spiritual misery ; but his too great respect for human traditions, and for aged men of learning, are powerful obstacles in his search for salvation.

20th. My servant has returned from Tigre, with several letters from Europe and Egypt ; among them, one announcing the mournful intelligence of the death of my sister :—also, with fifty talaris, given him by Sebagadis for me ; so that I can now return to my brother Kugler, in Tigre. Soon as I told Emmaha of my sister’s death, the whole family, with my servants, collected around me to express their sympathy by weeping aloud ; but I bade them be silent, and improved the opportunity afforded by the event, to speak to them of the end of our existence here below—of the way of salvation—of the happiness of the elect after death, and of the misery of the wicked.

24th. My house has been so filled from morning till night for the last few days, that it has been impossible for me to write a single word of the interesting conversations I have had with several people. Expecting to leave so soon, I now refrain from all dispute on any of their points of controversy. I commonly begin the conversation, especially when



any new comers are present, by speaking to them of the love of God for sinful men. I then endeavor, in the strongest possible terms, to impress upon their minds a lively conviction of their national and individual sin, showing them that their depraved morals are the natural and unavoidable consequence of the corruption of what they call their faith. Several, especially one priest, evince some concern for the salvation of their souls, but as yet, I have not found one who possesses a vital knowledge of Jesus. I have succeeded in exciting an ardent desire in many to study St Paul's Epistles; but I have no more copies left for distribution. The news of my sister's death is the occasion of the present thronging of the people to my house. They come to offer consolation, according to the custom: and I see that the instruction I give them now makes a stronger impression upon their minds, than my former efforts.

The general voice of the people is, that I ought to be invited to become their Abuna; but I tell them, that unless the people will submit to a thorough reform in their religion, no man who lives in the fear of God, and in obedience to his Word, can consent to be Abuna in Abyssinia;—that should God give them a good Abuna, his first effort would be to found an institution for the instruction of youth destined to the sacred ministry; and that he would not lay hands on any one who was not well instructed in the doctrines and precepts of the Bible. The more I reprove them for their superstition and wickedness, the more I gain the respect of all. I believe, that were it now my wish to make myself pass for an angel, scarcely a tenth part of the people would doubt my being one. People come from every part of the

interior, and tell me they have heard of me, and have seen the Gospel which I have circulated in the country. The Etchegua speaks favorably of me to all who come to see him; but report says, that Mariam, having been excommunicated by him, feels very great dissatisfaction, and intends to install a new Etchegua.

Oct. 3d. *Sunday*. To-day, a new Etchegua, Guebra Selasse, has been consecrated; but the service was more like the coronation of a king than the consecration of an ecclesiastic; besides, there was such disorder and confusion, that a description of the ceremony would be altogether impossible. I had a desire, however, to see the new Etchegua, and for that purpose went to the church; but his countenance indicated such extreme embarrassment, that I was wholly unable to judge correctly of his physiognomy. The austerity of his life has acquired for him such great reputation as a saint, that I fear he will be less disposed to liberality than Philippos, the preceding Etchegua. I went to see the late Etchegua the day before yesterday, after his apparently voluntary retirement, and instead of complimenting him with regrets and lamentations, as all the rest did, I congratulated him that God had released him from his recent responsible situation, so burdensome, and so ensnaring and dangerous to his soul. I added, that if his salvation was dear to him, his present state, as a private man, was much more favorable for securing it, than his former situation. Since then, he repeats my remarks to all who visit him, adding, that I am the only man who knows the truth, and speaks in the sincerity of his heart.

My intention of leaving to-morrow for Tigre, has made my

house a rendezvous, for some time past, for all sorts of people, from morning till night. Frequently, I have no opportunity for taking food till eight o'clock in the evening. Anxious to leave a favorable impression, I no longer dispute with any, but simply endeavor to direct all conversation to Jesus Christ crucified. Several are evidently alive to their spiritual wretchedness ; and I leave it, not without hope, to the care of my God to water and make fruitful the seed of his Word, which, during these six months, I have scattered over an extensive tract of country, according to the measure of grace he has given me.

It is not without mingled emotions of joy and grief that I take my leave of this city, where, for the first time in my life, I have felt myself a missionary. If I may judge of Abyssinia from its capital, our mission may reasonably anticipate happy results from its labors ; for I have never discovered such hungering and thirsting for the Word of God elsewhere, as many here now feel. The greater part are convinced of their own ignorance, and in a great measure, of equal deficiency in the priests. They are sensible of their need of a Saviour and Mediator to bring them to God ; but, on the other hand, this deep feeling is met by almost every obstacle which will offer determined resistance to the messenger of Christ, for the pretended power of the priests to bind and to loose, the invocation of saints and angels, fasting, pilgrimages, and the like, are so many false Saviours—so many Antichrists, which the devil has invented to draw weary and heavy-laden souls far away from the true Saviour. Reason is well able to furnish proofs of the utter futility of all these things ; but the Word of God alone can annihilate

superstition in its multiplied and conflicting forms, by regenerating the heart. For this reason, evangelical missions in this country, should make it their grand aim to multiply copies of the Bible, and to instruct the people in the Holy Scriptures. All other benevolent efforts should be made tributaries to the accomplishment of this end : for when the hearts of men are illuminated by the light of the Gospel, all human doctrines and inventions fall of themselves ; and in proportion as superstition yields to the truth, corruption of manners and character gives place to holiness of heart and life.

## CHAPTER V.

Arrival at Adowah.—Visit to Sebagadis.—Arrival of the Rev. C. Kugler.—Ophthalmia.—Mr. Kugler wounded by the bursting of a gun.—His last illness and dying scene.—Directions concerning his funeral, not to conform to the Abyssinian superstitions.—His burial.—Indignation of Sebagadis against the priests.—Conversations with the young Tecla Georgis.—Account of a Damotera's sting.—Alarming news from the scene of war.

ADOWAH. Oct. 19th. Although I had informed but few persons of my intention of leaving Gondar on the 4th of October, 1830, it was with extreme difficulty that I was able to get away from the city on that day. I made my calculations to leave early in the morning, so as to be visited by some of my more particular friends only; but as I was on the point of taking my departure, the king sent for me to call upon him, and then begged that I would defer going, at least eight days, to which proposition I was unwilling to accede. On returning to the house, I found so great a concourse of people, that I could hardly cross the garden to get in. I took my leave of most of them individually, exhorting them to unceasing effort to obtain the salvation which is by Jesus. At ten o'clock in the morning I left, accompanied for a considerable distance by a great number of my acquaintances. Habeta Selasse went nearly a league with me, expressing his desire for my speedy return, that



we might then go among the Gallas, near his village, Marfoud, Shoa, to commence our united labors as missionaries to that savage race.

From the commencement of the journey, my eyes were so bad that I was unable to write; besides, nothing transpired worthy of note. We were a very small company, and were obliged to return by the same road that I took in coming hither, owing to the frequent fevers which prevail on all other routes through the entire month of October. Both myself and people suffered a little from hunger on the way; first, because I had nothing left with which to purchase provisions at Gondar; and then, as Oubea had requested me to take him in my way on my return from Gondar, I naturally concluded he would furnish me with provisions as far as the Tacazze; but when I arrived at Debaree, I learned that he had suddenly left some days previous, to punish the rebels of Walcaït. On passing near Ebenä, I sent a servant with my respects to a lady whom I saw when passing the first time. She immediately set off with bread and beer to wait for me in the way. She begged me, in case I ever traveled that way again, to take lodgings at her house. It seemed as if we had met with a Melchisedec, (Gen. xiv. 18,) for on that day we had but a single morsel of bread to divide among thirteen persons. The next day we walked from daybreak till half past seven in the evening with no food, except a little barley which my servants gathered in a field by the road-side. I declined eating of it, but thought the passage in Deuteronomy xxiii. 24, 25, applicable to them.\*

\* When thou comest into thy neighbor's vineyard, then thou mayest eat grapes thy fill, at thine own pleasure; but thou shalt not put any

The governor of Toursogua gave us a friendly reception in the evening, and the day following we crossed the Tacazze. All the villages between Gondar and Sancaber were burned during the late war, with the single exception of Kedous Georgis Faras Sabar.

On the 17th of October, I reached Adowah, where Sebadis arrived two days previous. Immediately on my entering, he ordered a couch, called by the Abyssinians a throne, to be placed for me by the side of his own; a compliment which he has never paid any one else. He evinced so many marks of friendship in his general treatment of me during the two days we spent in each other's society, that I cannot doubt his sincerity. When I told him I was about leaving him for a year's absence, he began to weep, and said to me, "Why will you go? Only tell me what you wish from me, and I am ready to do all you can ask; for I love you, not because you are great, but because you love God, whom I also desire to love with my whole heart." I would have kissed his hand; but he would not allow me till after he had kissed mine. He left to-day for the war against Mariam; and against Oubea, who has recently become his enemy.

Oct. 20th. Brother Kugler arrived last evening from Gouila, accompanied by our old friend Girgis, who appears to have made great advances in the knowledge and love of evangelical truth. It was truly a feast to taste once more

in thy vessel. When thou comest into the standing corn of thy neighbor, then thou mayest pluck the ears with thine hand; but thou shalt not move a sickle unto thy neighbor's standing corn.

the delights of social converse with my dear Christian brethren, after eight tedious months of solitude.

Dec. 18th. Soon after my arrival at Adowah, I suffered an attack of ophthalmia. I have always checked the pain attending this disease, by taking a pinch of snuff frequently in the course of the day. I learned this remedy from a negro ; and, within three years, have repeatedly tried it with great success. When applied in season, it effects a cure almost in a single night ; otherwise the disease takes its course of eight to twelve days ; but the snuff invariably removes the pain. When relieved from the ophthalmia, I began to suffer from my stomach. Though not very painful, the complaint was attended with so much inconvenience, that, at most, I could read but a single chapter in the Bible during the day. The writing of two lines even, affected my head nearly to distraction. I rode on my mule every day for exercise, but that was not sufficient. The neighborhood of Adowah abounds in game ; so I went to the chase two or three times every week, that, by having some object in view, I might think less of my fatigue ; and when exhausted with over-exertion, would mount my mule and return home. Sensible of the great benefit of these exercises on myself, I one day induced brother Kugler, who felt himself somewhat unwell, to accompany me. He felt so much better for it, that two days after, he repeated the experiment, with the special design of hunting wild-boars, to procure the fat of these animals, which he uses in the preparation of ointments. Passing by the side of a river before sunrise on the 10th of December, we saw, in the water at a distance, a large beast, which we took for a crocodile. I said to Kugler,

"Which of us shall go and shoot this animal?" He replied immediately, with a tone of apprehension, "I will go." As he approached, he thought it was a hippopotamus, and fired upon it; but the bursting of his gun caused several wounds in his left arm, which are not yet healed. There is a fair prospect of his recovery, however, so that we hope nothing serious will result from the accident. My chief care is, to induce him to remain quiet, and be careful of his arm as possible; a point which costs him great self-denial, since he considers himself now out of danger.

23d. Kugler has been sadly unfortunate to-day. Believing himself perfectly restored, he lay down on his left side, and rested his head on his wounded hand, to read. While thus engaged, he involuntarily started, and the blood instantly began to flow from the wound, which had appeared to be healed. I was not with him, but he told me he had not lost less than two pounds of blood. This has occasioned a slight degree of fever. I should not apprehend alarming results, however, had he not, for some time back, continually alluded to his approaching death. While I was ill, now more than a month since, and himself quite well, he said to me with a very serious air; "If I should be called to leave this world soon, which I often have the presentiment will be the case, I wish you to write to all my acquaintances who may have injured my feelings, whether voluntarily or involuntarily, and tell them I have not the least feeling of enmity or ill-will toward any one; and if I have offended any, I ask their forgiveness." He named some particular individuals to me.

24th. Received several letters from Europe. Kugler was

much excited, especially by two of them. He has more fever this evening than yesterday.

25th. Kugler has again lost considerable blood ; but feels very well this evening.

26th. *Sunday*. Kugler has been well all day ; but he always speaks of death as if he expected it soon.

27th. Kugler was well till about four o'clock this evening, when he requested me to untie his arm, and apply a new ointment, with which I am not acquainted ; saying, that it would tend to stop the blood, by speedily closing the wound. I hesitated a little at first, advising him, as he had not lost any blood for two days, and suffered but little pain, to let his arm remain for another day. But his entreaties finally prevailed. Afterward, he felt so well, that he wished to walk to my house and take supper.\* I advised him not to venture out, but he said he needed nothing but a little exercise to make him perfectly well. On the way, he cried out, "Here is blood!"—and in a very short time, he lost at least two pounds. When we reached the house, the blood had ceased running ; but he soon fainted away, after which, he felt himself usually well.

28th. Feeling the want of some exercise, I told Kugler I would take a short excursion on my mule, if his health would admit ; to which he replied, that he had passed a very good night, and I could feel myself at perfect liberty to go. I went out a little before day, and returned about nine o'clock. On coming in, I was much alarmed by learning that he had suffered another loss of blood, a circum-

\* The houses being very small, we have taken two, that we may be able to labor more freely : but we have our table in common.



stance which had not before occurred in the morning. I also found our brother Aichinger (a German carpenter) very ill. Kugler was in great suffering from a variety of causes. Every limb was so tremulous, that he could not enjoy a moment's quiet, and every motion caused pain in his arm; meanwhile, such was the strength of his soul, and such his confidence in God, that he was enabled to conceal his sufferings from almost every eye. While conversing together, he said to me; "The loss of blood which I have thus far sustained, will not destroy my life, but, from my restlessness for some days past, I am fearful that some rust from the iron which struck me, may have entered my veins. It is possible this accident may be the cause of my death; and with this idea, one subject lies on my heart with considerable weight. After my death, the duty of sending the intelligence to Europe will devolve upon you; and should you write, in general terms, that I was wounded in hunting, I know that fact would affect the minds of many persons very unpleasantly. That, however, would not affect myself then; for, on this point, I have a pure conscience before God, who knows that my object in hunting on that day, was not pleasure, but simply the preservation of my own health, and the benefit of the sick in this country. But were this accident generally known, I fear that many Christians would suffer undeserved reproach on account of it, and that the world might take occasion to speak unfavorably of the work of missions, as if the missionaries idled away their time in hunting. After all, however, I am persuaded that the two Committees in London and Basle, know me too well to attribute any wrong intention to me. You can give them a minute

detail of the whole ; they can decide upon the course most expedient for adoption, in regard to publishing or withholding the account." In order to soothe his troubled mind, I told him that hunting and fishing are one and the same thing, as the same word, in Oriental languages, expresses both ; and that no Christian ever blamed the Apostles for preaching the Gospel at one time, and fishing at another. Neither is it evil, only as it is made so. About four o'clock this evening, the wound bled again ; but, as everything was in readiness for such an event, we succeeded in stopping it before much escaped ; but his arm became very much swollen, and was painful in the extreme.

29th. Last evening, Kugler's sufferings were very great. A cry escaped him, but he instantly said, " It is the will of God that I should suffer ; I therefore desire to bear all that he sees fit to lay upon me with patience." The next moment, he fainted nearly away, but recovered very soon. Several persons were assembled around his bed, to whom he gave a long address in the Tigrean dialect. I was very much surprised to hear him say, decidedly, " I am at the point of death !" When the company had left, he said to me, " While speaking, I had almost forgotten my pain, but it is now so violent, that it seems to penetrate all my bones." Saying this, he untied his arm himself, the swelling of which continually increases. I prepared a little opium, with camphor and spirits of wine, occasionally dipping a linen rag into the liquid, which I applied to his arm. This tended to allay the pain, so that he fell asleep at two o'clock, and slept till morning. He has been very comfortable through the day ; the swelling of his arm has abated considerably,

and he is more calm than before ; but now, (sunset) his pulse is so full, so hard, and so irregular, that I greatly fear for the night. Aichinger has also been exercised with much pain for two days.

30th. It is with the most poignant grief that I attempt a description of the scene I witnessed last evening ; but the Lord, who has hitherto supported me, will yet continue to sustain me. Last evening, a little after sunset, as we were conversing together on the advancement of the kingdom of God, Kugler said to me in a mild, but urgent manner, " Gobat, come quickly ! my blood is flowing in great drops." I immediately seized the linen I had prepared ; but so much blood had already escaped, that, when I raised his arm, he fainted away, and the blood stopped. Aichinger, though weak and suffering, sprang from his bed to come to my assistance. On seeing him, the thought that I might possibly lose the only two brethren I have in this country, almost robbed me of my senses. Kugler soon came to himself ; but his first words were, " I am going to die. I could have wished to live longer, to proclaim to this poor people the salvation which is in Jesus ; but the will of the Lord be done !" After that, he several times repeated, in the Tigrean dialect, " I have no fear at all ! Weep not for me. It is far better for me to die, than to remain here." He then commenced praying in Tigrean, " Lord Jesus, bless me !—Show mercy on me !—Receive me to thyself !—Thou art my Saviour—my Father ! I have no Father but thee !—I come to Thee ! Receive my spirit ! Prepare me a place near thyself !" He then began to pray in German, saying the same words, but added, " I give thee thanks, O Lord, for

all the mercy thou hast manifested towards me ! Thou hast ever been favorable to me, even to this very hour." He then said to me, "Gobat, salute all my brethren. Salute——; I have no directions for her." He again called several times upon the name of Jesus, saying from time to time, "Receive me !" When his voice began to fail, he said to me, "I can speak no more. Tell these people," (a great number stood around him,) "that Jesus is my portion ; and that they must, on no account, indulge in their usual extreme weeping. Perform no *Tescar*."\* After having called upon the name of Jesus several times, he said to me, "Speak to me of the Saviour ; I can say no more." I could not yet believe that he was on the point of leaving me. Seeing him and Aichinger in such a state, so oppressed me, that my voice failed me, on attempting to speak. But I had the consolation of seeing his soul occupied entirely with thoughts of Jesus, in a full assurance of faith. "Be of good courage !" I said to him. "The Lord will not forsake you, neither in life, nor in death. He never leaves those whose trust is in him." "I know it well !" he replied in a tone of confidence ; "He has never forsaken me." Having said these words, he again looked around on all present, and then fell asleep so gently, that for two hours, none of the attendants could believe that he was really dead. It was about nine o'clock in the evening, (Dec. 29,) when he resigned his soul into the hands of his Creator and Saviour.

\* In this country the relations and friends of a deceased person invite, at different times, many priests and poor people, to whom they give something to eat and drink, to engage their prayers for the soul of the deceased : this they call *Tescar*. *i. e.*, "remembrance."



Immediately upon my announcement of Kugler's death, the men and women, of whom the house was full, began, according to the custom of their country, to weep and cry, as if each had lost an only son. Aichinger could hardly endure their cries; but I encouraged him to be patient awhile, and not wound their feelings, thinking it best to let them indulge in their wailings for about a quarter of an hour. Custom led me to expect continual cries from them till the burial. But when they had continued their cries and lamentations about a quarter of an hour, I said to them, "My dear friends, I doubt not your friendship for my deceased brother, but your tears and your cries offend God. Although your desire is to do well, yet you commit sin; first, because my brother, when dying, told you that he belonged to Jesus; that his lot was the best; consequently you do wrong to weep. Then, you know Aichinger is ill, and your cries are injurious to him. And lastly, your tears and moans are a kind of rebellion against God, and his wisdom in regard to my brother; so I beg you to cease your weeping, and listen for a moment to what I have to say to you." Upon this I gave them a short discourse in Amharic, on 1 Thessalonians iv. 13, to which they were very attentive listeners. When I had closed my exhortation, the most of them expressed their conviction that I was in the right; and that, as they believed Kugler had died in the exercise of true Christian faith, they would restrain their weeping much as possible. A Mussulman present observed, "I have been with many individuals in their dying moments,—four have died in my arms; but never, till this day, have I seen faith triumphant over death!" None present manifested any dis-



satisfaction, save one woman, who said to me in rather an angry tone, "It is not for myself that I weep, but for you! however, as you do not wish it, I will go." So saying, she took her departure. The remainder of the night was spent in mournful silence, only that the stillness was now and then broken by some expression of love and esteem for Kugler. Aichinger was in great pain through the night.

31st. The two last days have been sad and painful to me; but the Lord has sustained me. My first care was to give close attention to Aichinger, and see that he should be annoyed and disturbed as little as possible, by the great number of people, who were continually coming and going. These who were in attendance at Kugler's death, have greatly comforted and assisted me, by kindly warning all who enter the house to desist from weeping aloud. All were very urgent to have him buried yesterday, saying, that in this country, a dead body cannot be kept in the house more than one day; but I strongly opposed them. I decided this morning, however, that we would bury him about noon. Having been here but a short time, and most of the men being engaged in the war, I felt that I had no friends on whom I could depend; but the Lord gave me all the assistance I needed. A young priest took all proper measures to secure the same interment for him, which is given to persons of honor and distinction of the country.

Having determined to observe none of the superstitious ceremonies of the country, I was well aware of the opposition I should be obliged to encounter from the priests; but at the moment I was about sending to the young prince, Tecla Georgis, son of the deceased king of that name, to request

him to speak to the priests, he came in person to offer his services, and to ask me in what church I desired to inter my brother. "At the burial-ground of the church called *Madhan Alam*," (the Saviour of the world,) I replied; "but I wish neither mass,\* nor absolution, nor Tescar, nor any of your ceremonies which are not founded on the Word of God. If the priests are willing to read a chapter of the Bible, and to pray to God for the living, I do not object." He understood my explanation of the resolution I had formed; and went to the priests, yesterday morning, to request of them one of the first places in the burial-ground. They said, that Kugler could not be buried in the church, because he had neither confessed, nor received absolution before his death. To that, Tecla Georgis replied, that many persons die suddenly without confession, and are, nevertheless, buried in the church.

The priests answered, "We have no objection to that, provided we are directed to say masses and pronounce the absolution over him."

"That cannot be," rejoined Tecla Georgis; "for his brother has told me, that before he (Kugler) died, he requested that neither absolution, mass, nor Tescar should be performed for him; because Jesus Christ had absolved him, and pardoned his sins; besides, in their country, they have no such thing as absolution, or mass." Several persons were present, who divided into two parties; but the priests finally yielded their point, lest, by persisting, they should incur the anger of Sebagadis. After that, Tecla Georgis sent for me,

\* The Abyssinian mass differs a little from that of the Papists; but I do not know what other name to give it.

to see if I were pleased with the selection he had made for the place of burial. When I arrived, the priests were desirous of renewing their objections. But I said to them in the presence of all the people, "You are sinners yourselves, and you need a Saviour to absolve you ; consequently, all your masses, and other like ceremonies, answer no purpose whatever, either for the living or the dead. But I am not ignorant of your object in requiring my consent to have masses said, and absolutions pronounced ; it is only to get money. Your motive is not very praiseworthy ; but that you, and all present, may know that not my avarice, but my conscience, forbids my receiving your services, I am ready to give you all that you can lawfully demand." Their real intention was to engage me to promise them money, but they would much prefer that I should do so secretly ; they replied, therefore, that they would receive no money unless I would commission them to pray for the deceased ; but they have already, this very day, sent to tell me, privately, that they are willing to accept whatever I see fit to give them. I answered, that I had no idea of giving them anything in secret. Three priests, from the interior, who are not connected with this church, have openly declared for me. Previously to our retiring from the grave to-day, one of them offered up a short prayer, to which he added the Lord's Prayer. The exercises received a very numerous attendance, and were conducted throughout with much propriety.

Last night was spent in a manner designed to edify. There were many people in the house, but they made no loud crying. I read, at intervals, the fifteenth chapter of the First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, and the last

three chapters of the Revelation, and some other passages ; making such remarks as I thought were suited both to my own circumstances, and to the spiritual wants of those present.

I could not have thought it possible for me to endure so many trying providences, all coming together. In a strange country—with only two brethren, one of them dying in my arms, while the sighs of the other sick one are sounding in my ears—opposition from various quarters—duty calling me to seize each of these opportunities for speaking to the hearts of great numbers for three successive days and nights, without any sleep—all this might have seemed enough to crush my weak constitution ; yet notwithstanding all, I find myself, as far as my bodily health is concerned, quite well. May the help which the Lord has given me, strengthen my faith, and fill me with love for himself, forever !

Jan. 5th, 1831. For many days past my house has been thronged with people, who came to bestow upon me their sympathies in this hour of trial and sorrow. I have endeavored to address myself to the hearts of all who understand Amharic ; and, for the first time, have been asked by three or four priests to explain to them the nature of true, saving faith. One of them, about sixty years of age, is constantly expressing to me his desire to be my disciple ; but I fear he is actuated by some secret motive, though I have heard him publicly condemn some of the errors of his countrymen. Till yesterday morning, Aichinger suffered very much, without being able to take any nourishment. Perceiving some indications, as I thought, that he was laboring under the same disease, only with increased pain, which I had at Gondar, I administered to him the remedy that effected a cure



for myself. Yesterday morning, I made him drink a large glass of tepid butter,\* which produced a most wonderful effect; for since drinking it, he has been entirely free from pain.

7th. The servant, whom I sent to Sebagadis, near the Tacazze, to inform him of the death of Kugler, returned to-day. Immediately on receiving the intelligence, Sebagadis covered his face with his mantle, and wept; he then sent for several of his great men to come and weep with him, but directly countermanded this order, saying, "I had forgotten my situation; it will be better for me to weep alone in secret, for should my enemies hear that we are mingling our tears together, they will believe that it is for some brave officer, and be encouraged to persist in refusing to come to terms of peace." Having thus said, he again covered his face, and remained nearly two hours without uttering a single word. Afterwards, he inquired of my servant, the manner and place of Kugler's burial; who assisted me, &c. When told that the priests wished to oppose his interment in the church, he suddenly rose up in anger, and immediately sent for the chief of the priests of Adowah, who was in the camp. Soon as the priest presented himself, he said to him, in the presence of all, "What, wretch that you are! do you refuse a sepulchre to a stranger, who is a better Chris-

\* (See Aug. 30, 1830. Ludolf, in his history of Abyssinia, states that the natives, "for want of convenient and proper utensils, shake the milk about in a skin (goat skin), till it becomes butter." L. iv. c. 4. et comm. It is used in this fresh state. Preserving butter by salt is the practice in colder climates. See various allusions made in scripture to the use of butter: Judges iv. 19, and v. 25; Isaiah vii. 15, 22.



tian than all the priests of my country? Do you not know that Kugler was my brother?—yes, my son? and do you refuse him a sepulchre in the church which I myself built?"

The priest, trembling from head to foot, answered, "The fault is not mine. I was not at Adowah, as you very well know."

To which Sebagadis replied; "I know very well that it is not your fault in this particular case; but it is you who have introduced all this rubbish into the church; you are responsible for it. Send immediately to Adowah, and command these unworthy priests to prison, till I go myself to inflict upon them the punishment they richly deserve." It is feared that he will order their legs or tongues to be cut off; but if it is in my power I shall prevent such barbarous treatment.

11th. My next-door neighbor, the young prince Tecla Georgis, has been in the habit of coming to see me almost every day since my arrival at Adowah; but he is always accompanied by two or three priests, and perhaps a dozen other persons, so that he has ever studiously avoided all kind of religious conversation. He is, however, continually offering some remark, to induce the priests to converse with me; but is sparing of words himself. If he hears that I am engaged in discussion with any priest, he is sure to come and listen to the conversation; but takes no part on either side of the question. Kugler's last words, and the manner in which I have received this dispensation of Providence, have inspired him with increased confidence in me, so that he is less fearful of being misled by me than before; he has therefore made a connecting passage to the roof of my house,

which gives him the means of coming to me, if he wishes, alone.

He came by this new way this morning, for the first time, but was somewhat disconcerted by meeting in my room his father-confessor. He nevertheless asked several questions on the anointing of Jesus Christ, on saving faith, the justification of a sinner, the invocation of saints, and other disputed points. Speaking on the invocation of saints, he said to me; "Your belief on this subject is more satisfactory to my mind than ours. You pray to God only, and are thus sure of being heard. As for us, we invoke the saints, and worship both them and their images, and are still doubtful whether they will do us good or evil."

His father-confessor stopped him, saying, "We worship not the saints, neither their images."

"Pardon me!" said Tecla Georgis, "we do worship them."

"I do not worship them;" rejoined the priest.

"Why then have you taught me to worship them?"

The priest, evidently confused, replied; "I will do so no longer; the saints are men, like ourselves. I worship none but God and the Virgin Mary."

"If you do not worship the saints, why worship the Virgin Mary? Is she not also a creature, like other human beings?"

The priest could not answer him: Tecla Georgis continued, "We do not know where we ought to stop; therefore the faith of the English is preferable to ours."

Feb. 1st. All the people being engaged in the war, I have no opportunity for seeing any but some priests, with whom it is always more difficult to hold edifying conversation than

with other people. They invariably endeavor to talk about ceremonies, or some points of history, which do not affect the heart. The young Tecla Georgis, who comes daily to my house, often evinces a disposition to yield his heart to the truth; but is greatly diverted from his purpose of receiving the true faith, by the efforts of the great number of priests who are his constant visitors.

9th. The woman of the house in which I live, went out a little while about nine o'clock last evening, and on returning, said that she had been stung on the tip of one of her fingers by a scorpion. But nothing could be seen, and she complained less than people usually do when bitten by venomous reptiles. She was very quiet through the night till towards morning; at least we heard nothing from her till about an hour before day, when she began to make a noise so much resembling the growling of a dog, that I really supposed the disturbance proceeded from one. At daybreak, on perceiving our mistake, we began to question her a little, but she made no answer. I thought, at first, that she had been bitten by a serpent instead of a scorpion. I called some people in, who, on seeing her saliva, said she had not been bitten by a serpent, but had been stung by an insect, larger than a scorpion, full of prickles, which the Abyssinians call *damotera*, (in Tigre, *aco*,) and perfectly black in its color. It inhabits old walls and the driest parts of mountains. It is said that there is but one antidote for the sting of this insect, and that a sure one, only when applied instantly; it is, to take the small intestines of a young black she-goat, just killed, and force them down into the stomach of the patient, from whence they are drawn out charged

with the poisonous matter. The frequent repetition of this operation for two or three days, restores the patient. In this country, the principal remedy for a man who has been bitten by a serpent, is, to prevent him from falling asleep. I recently came very near being bitten by an extremely venomous serpent; it was following me, with its open mouth not more than two inches from my naked foot, when my servant, having a heavy stick in his hand, gave it a severe blow, which arrested its progress. I have seen but three venomous serpents alive, since I left Europe, and these three in the neighborhood of Adowah.

The woman, who was stung last evening, died about nine o'clock this morning, and was buried at two this afternoon. The priests have seized all the little that she had, for pronouncing absolution; and because she had not confessed before her death, have imposed on all her relatives a fast of forty days. My house has been surrounded, all the rest of the day, with men and women weeping aloud; many of whom rubbed their faces with a coarse woollen cloth, till the skin of the forehead and of both cheeks was entirely peeled off. The sores made in this way, are frequently not healed for thirty or forty days. When in mourning, the Abyssinian men and women generally shave the head; excepting the great people, who content themselves with cutting the hair.

The number of my visits has greatly diminished of late; a circumstance which has enabled me to employ a part of my time in reading the works of Heinsoth of Leipsic; for I do not wish to lose entirely the character of a European. Another portion of my time, I devote to revising the trans-

lation of the Gospel into the dialect of Tigre. Mattheos, an Abyssinian by birth, though the son of a Greek, by the name of Apostoli, presides over the work; and I take the opportunity of looking it over with him, for the purpose of acquiring a more accurate knowledge of the language.

15th. Some runaway soldiers have arrived this evening, who announce that the Gallas, under Mariam, passed the Tacazze on the thirteenth; and that yesterday the Tigreans suffered a defeat. I wait for more definite information.



## CHAPTER VI.

Flight from Adowah, in company with Walda Michael—Account of the capture and death of Sebagadis.—Mr. Gobat sent by Walda Michael, for protection, to the monastery of Debra Damot.—After three months' seclusion, arrival at Adigrate.—Description of the locusts.—Reading of the Scriptures with his servant Guebrou.—Consequences of the battle of February 14th.—Native dirge on Sebagadis.—A younger son of Sebagadis revolts.—The eldest, Walda Michael, maintains his power.—Oubea comes to attack Walda Michael.—Mr. Gobat takes refuge again in Debra Damot.—Returns to Adigrate.—He again takes refuge in Debra Damot.—Remarks on the Galla country.—Recovery from severe illness.—Cruel proceedings of Oubea.—Battle between Oubea and the sons of Sebagadis.—They submit to Oubea, who gives them about half of their father's government.—Departure from Massowah.—Waits upon Oubea and Walda Michael, before his departure.—Arrives successively at Massowah, Jidda, Suez, and Cairo.

BEHATE. When I rose on the morning of the 16th of February, 1831, I learned that all the people had fled in consequence of the news received the previous evening; none remained, except some elderly women, who were on the roofs of the houses, weeping with loud and bitter cries. Soon a great number of soldiers were seen returning in great confusion, with the people who had fled the neighboring villages. Tears stood in almost every eye. Till then, I had been undecided as to the course best for me to pursue; sometimes, I had thought of remaining and protecting

my house by force ; sometimes, of continuing quietly at home, and allowing the Gallas to seize whatever they pleased ; and sometimes, of fleeing with such articles as I could carry with me. But I constantly hoped, that, at the moment necessity should compel me to some definite action, God would direct me to the best decision. When I saw all in alarm, I retired to ask counsel and direction of God. After this, I was informed, that one of the sons and the brother of Sebagadis, had just passed by the side of the town, without entering it. I immediately ran after them, to ascertain the state of affairs. They told me, that having been stationed to defend a distant pass, they were not at the battle of the 14th, and consequently did not know where Sebagadis was ;—that they supposed he had taken another road, and that the Gallas would be up soon. They advised me to lose no time, but to take what property I could immediately, and go with them to sleep on a neighboring mountain. Returning to the house, I found there our friend Ali from Egypt, who, at his own suggestion, had been sent by Walda Michael, eldest son of Sebagadis, to take me with him. My brother Aichinger had been occupied ever since morning, in getting all our property in readiness for a removal. We transported the books and medicines to a neighboring church, Madhan Alam, and set off with the rest of our effects about sunset, and walked till about nine o'clock in the evening. Some of our company were robbed of their property by the country people, but I lost nothing on this occasion. The night was very dark, and we dared not build a fire from fear of the banditti of the country ; so we slept on the grass, with no other covering than our light day-clothes.

On the 17th, I overtook Walda Michael, who was acquainted with me only by name ; but he knew his father was strongly attached both to Aichinger and myself. We continued our march till three o'clock in the afternoon, when we halted in a plain, in the district of Antitcho, where our mules found capital grazing. We had intended to start off again towards sunset, and march part of the night ; but at four o'clock, a man arrived at our encampment, who had been taken prisoner, and had made his escape. Having just learned that Mariam fell in the battle of the 14th, Walda Michael immediately issued a proclamation through the camp, ordering all to prepare for retracing their steps. The brother of Sebagadis, whom I saw at Adowah, soon arrived. We were in his district. The tears of many in distress were immediately changed for cries of gladness ; but this joy was to be of short continuance. At sunset, we received some raisins from Walda Michael, and a good piece of meat, part of which we eagerly devoured in its raw state, having had nothing to eat for two days. Much rain fell during the night ; but we had improved our leisure time in preparing the hides, which served for beds and covering.

Rising on the morning of the 18th, I was exceedingly surprised at the marked sadness of the chiefs, and to see some soldiers continuing their march on the same route as on the evening previous. Walda Michael soon sent for me privately ; and told me that a messenger arrived in the night, with sad intelligence ; but that I must not appear dejected, through fear of exciting suspicion ;—it was, that his father was dead ! Poor Sebagadis ! he was taken captive on the 14th, and on the 15th was beheaded. Before putting him

to death, the Gallas gave him permission to speak with one of his officers, also a prisoner, who was to be sent back. He made his will, and, among other things, directed all his children to regard his son, Walda Michael, as their father, and be submissive and faithful to him. He requested Walda Michael to deal kindly with his English friends, so long as he should have the power. On entering the tent in which his life was to be taken from him, he said to his enemies, "I have fought in this war, only to defend the country of which I am the father, and which, without cause, you wish to desolate and ruin. You may kill my body ; but my soul is beyond your reach—in the hands of God. Only strike ; I have no fear !" Saying these words, he covered his eyes with his hand, to receive the fatal blow. Having thus announced to me the death of his father, Walda Michael swore to protect me to the extent of his power, provided I would promise to be a faithful friend to him. Having made this agreement, he directed his uncle to conduct me to the monastery of Debra Damot, and to secure the reception of my property there also.

We arrived at Debra Damot on the 19th, about noon, with the servants of Sebagadis' brother, who told the officers of the convent, that they had orders to see that my goods were received and secured in that place ; whence the priests concluded that they could not be surrendered but by command of the brother of Sebagadis, in whose house they were deposited. After discussing the point till night, I succeeded in getting from them a promise, that, at last, they would give up my property to no one, unless I were present. I

was not altogether satisfied with this arrangement, but I knew of no other safe depository for my effects.

On Sunday, the 20th, as I was wishing to descend the mountain, which can be done only by means of a rope,—I saw Walda Michael, who came for a younger brother who was in the monastery. Learning that his uncle's servants had not properly executed their commission, he immediately caused them to be bound for some hours; and then severely reproved the monks, for treating a stranger, whom he had sent among them, with so much coldness. He next ordered them to receive my property on the conditions I desired; viz: that they should return it to me whenever I wished, without directions from any other person. He then advised me to remove my things from his uncle's house to the convent. We remained together, under the mountain, till four o'clock in the evening, when he left for Adigrate. Upon the whole, the monks, as a body, exhibit more kindness and fellow-feeling, than the superior. I passed the evening with several of their number, some of whom were inclined to listen to the Word of God.

Feb. 21, 1831.—We advanced about three hours on the road last evening, and arrived at Behate to-day, where I purpose to remain, at the residence of our friend Ali of Egypt, till the storm shall have passed away.

26th. During the three last days, I have been engaged in writing letters to Messrs. Bickersteth, Blumhardt, and others.

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May 22d. *Adigrate*. I have just passed three very disagreeable months, in the midst of the savage Shohos; but



the Lord has preserved me from all evil. As this country had been forcibly brought under subjection, for the first time, by Sebagadis, the natives had recognized his authority up to the present moment, only by compulsion. As soon as they heard of his death, they became the enemies of his children. Thus, the few friends that Ali had, became his enemies, and consequently mine, as I was in his house. The tribute, which they ought to have payed him some months before, they all now refused. All the quarrels which occurred under the administration of Sebagadis, and which were not terminated agreeably to their customs, have been renewed in all the neighboring villages, especially on the market-days, which seldom pass without a recurrence of some serious disturbance. Three or four hundred armed men have engaged in violent contest at three different times; but, savages as they are, they fight with great carefulness, from fear of killing some one; because the relatives of the person slain would most surely take the life of the murderer; or failing in this, that of some one of his kindred, even in generations to come; hence, the number wounded is always small. The people of several villages have been very near Behate three times, with the intention of attacking and plundering the village.

But the Abyssinians, aside from their propensity to quarrel, when they have no government to fear, are almost invariably given to robbery. Many have often conspired together, and contrived some plan for pillaging my house; but some unforeseen obstacle has uniformly thwarted their treacherous schemes. One of my servants, who belongs in the vicinity, has a large circle of family connections, who always

oppose every attempt to do me injury. Once, when the banditti of several villages had brought their plan to such maturity, that they had even fixed upon the very night for taking my four mules and all the property they should find in my house—on that very evening, a soldier of good family, and respected for his bravery, returned from the neighborhood of the Tacazze, where he had been wounded and mutilated by the Gallas. The thieves went to welcome him, and to inform him of their plan, before coming to my house, hoping, in case they should meet with opposition, that he would be ready to render them assistance. But he said to them; “I might, perhaps, have united with you, formerly; but to-day I have barely escaped death, and it looks to me, that it is for the purpose of delivering unoffending strangers from your hands, that God has rescued me from the doom which I was momentarily expecting. I do not consent to aid you; and I assure you, that he, who shall do this stranger any harm, shall be my enemy till death.” Thus was their nefarious design suddenly baffled. But this same man, Ardou, was summoned to attend Walda Michael to the war; and I hear from every quarter, that many are only waiting his departure, to come and plunder my dwelling. I know not what to do. I would willingly have gone to Adowah; but, not only is the road filled with banditti, but Azaï Guigar, who lays claim to the government of Tigre, puts in irons and robs all the friends of Sebagadis. He consigned Emmaha to chains for three days, because his wife fled at the same time that I did, and because he has my house under his protection; he also demanded of him two hundred talaris of my money. At last, a respectable rela-

tive succeeded in procuring his liberation. While I was in doubt respecting the course expedient for me to adopt, Walda Michael directed me to Adigrate, assuring me that no other place would afford me equal safety. I received this advice as coming from the Lord; and yesterday I arrived at Adigrate; having been prevented from coming sooner by some discord among the sons of Sebagadis. But the gentleness and clemency of Walda Michael have now restored perfect harmony among them, and they all have finally acknowledged him their lawful ruler.

My health was rather feeble during most of my stay at Behate, but as I was seldom interrupted by visitors, excepting an old priest who does not oppose the truth, I had leisure for making two copies of my Journal. I have been in the constant enjoyment of good health since the middle of April; my eyes however are not yet fully restored. The war claims the services of all the people; I am consequently destined to solitude in Adigrate, for the present.

June 9th. Locusts were seen here for the first time this season, some days since; but have not assumed the appearance of a formidable army till to-day. The first signal of their approach was a noise resembling the hum of many swarms of bees. On listening attentively awhile, it became like the sound of heavy hail at some distance; I then went out to ascertain whence the noise originated. The air was teeming with locusts, by which the light of the sun was already greatly obscured. But this was only the advanced guard. On looking toward the north, I perceived, about a league distant, several faint clouds, as it were, rising from the earth, which I at once took for locusts, having before

seen this appearance of them near Cana of Galilee. Afterward, this mist became so thick, that it entirely hid the sky and neighboring mountains from our view, and the people of the country, though accustomed to seeing locusts, no longer believed these wonders to be occasioned by them; but the locusts soon arrived to convince us of the fact. As they approached, their sound fully equalled the roaring of the sea after a storm. Terror and alarm filled every eye with weeping. The air was so darkened, that we could scarcely discern the place of the sun; and the earth was so completely covered with these insects, that we could see nothing else. Children, running about the fields, at only a stone's throw, could scarcely be seen through the multitudes of locusts hovering around them. Every year, there is a greater or less descent of locusts in Tigre, but they are much more numerous this year than usual. They have already ruined the fields of several villages on the borders of Debra Damot, and Antitcho, nearly to Adowah. Added to this, there has been a total suspension of rain for more than three weeks past, so that we may reasonably anticipate a famine next year. The Mussulmans of Tigre are fond of locusts, as an article of food; and for this reason they collect great quantities of them in casks. In times of scarcity, some Christians eat them; but this stigmatizes them as Mussulmans, and at their confession, the priests impose upon them a terrible penance. I have even heard that they must be rebaptized, before they can again be regarded as Christians; but the truth of this report I have not yet been able to ascertain. Calling the Tigrean people Locust-eaters, is the greatest insult you can offer them. These insects are

rarely found beyond the Tacazze, so that the Mussulmans in that region seldom eat them.

I am visited almost every day by two Alacas and two other priests, all of whom appear to be men of considerable information ; I always converse with them on religious subjects, in Amharic ; but not one of them is a serious inquirer after the truth. I find more pleasure in spending a few hours with the family of Bida Mariam, who filled the king's seat for three days, at Gondar, some years since. Neither himself, his wife, nor his children, are enemies to the Gospel ; but their absolute dependence, and their present miserable condition, give them an undecided character.

My eyes are becoming more affected. It is only from nine o'clock in the morning till three in the afternoon, that I can see with sufficient clearness to read and write. On first opening them to the light in the morning, they suffer exceedingly ; but the pain gradually subsides towards eight o'clock. They are not at all painful in the evening, though I can hardly recognize the persons in the house.

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Sept. 5th, Thanks to God, that I have enjoyed very good health through the rainy season, though the state of my eyes varies but very little. I have been able, however, during these last few days, to read the accounts of the events at Paris in 1830. Besides, I can only read two or three chapters in the Bible daily. I am so much alone, that time passes quite heavily. There is a very well-informed old monk from Dembea, who comes to see me almost every day, for whom I entertain some hope. He defends his principles with all his might, but I have long perceived that he does



not fully believe even what he affirms, and that he is less reluctant than formerly to hear of the Christianity of the heart. The two or three other priests who visit me are occupied with the nicer points of religion, which they endeavor to resolve by sophisms.

My stay at Adigrate is rendered quite pleasant by daily conversations with my servant Guebrou. His progress in the study of the New Testament is truly surprising. Let me begin any passage to him, either in the Gospel or the Epistles, and he will continue and finish it nearly word for word; and almost uniformly gets hold of the true meaning. He is familiar, also, with a great portion of the history of the Old Testament, having heard it from my mouth. But the occasion of my greatest joy is, that the truth has taken deep root in his heart. It was since I have been here, that he told me of the anguish of soul he experienced at Adowah, on reading the Epistles of St. Paul and St. Peter, and the pure joy by which this agony was succeeded. He frequently complains of deadness of heart, and an apathy which leaves him neither true joy nor sorrow; nevertheless, he seizes every moment to read the New Testament, and to write. He is peculiarly desirous to possess the Psalms of David in Amharic, that they may assist him in learning to pray. The vivacity of his temperament is less favorable to true Christianity than could be wished; but aside from some of the frailties incident to our natures, his conduct, in every respect, is exemplary. I am confirmed in my conviction that he has listened to the Father, and is influenced by the Holy Spirit, by the enmity shown him by the world; excepting, however, a few good men, who wish him to come to

their houses to instruct their children. As no one can lay any very serious offence to his charge, the priests content themselves with calling him a Mussulman; because he does not kiss the churches, and refuses to have a father-confessor. Some, in derision, call him, *Tsadic*; i. e. "just;" "saint;" and the women give him the appellation of "monk," because they cannot triumph over his virtue. If the Lord continue in him the work he has begun, I hope eventually to qualify him for a teacher.

I have reserved the description of the results of the battle of the 14th of February for this place. The facts, as I have them, are as follows:—After the Gallas had killed Sebagadis, Dori, brother of Mariam, led them in a body to Axum, pillaging and destroying all the villages. On his arrival at Axum, Dori was taken unwell, and knowing that to instigate the formation of parties in the interior, reports of his death would soon be carried thither, he saw the necessity of his return to the Amhara country. By the advice of Oubea, Dori put his two principal officers, Dejaj Ahmada, governor of the Goodezou Gallas, and the young Dejaj Comfou, whom I saw at Gondar, in irons. All returned together, except Oubea. Dori chained my Gondar friends, Cantiba Cassai, and Negadras Achaber also; but his disease gradually increased upon him till near the close of the month of May, when it terminated in death. Those in irons were consequently released; and all the chiefs acknowledged their allegiance to Ali Mariam, nephew of Ras Googsa, without further trouble. Thus Ali Mariam has assumed the title of Ras in lieu of his cousin Mariam, and has placed a new king, called Joas, on the throne.

The Gallas left Axum without plundering it; and Oubea, whom they had honored with the title of Governor of Tigre, encamped near Adowah, where all the people in the neighborhood assembled to acknowledge him as their chief. He invested one Azai Guigar, an enemy, although a relative of Sebagadis, with the temporary government of Tigre, and then suddenly left for Samen, afraid to trust himself with the Gallas. While in this unsettled state, parties were formed on all sides in Tigre. The majority would submit neither to Oubea, nor to the children of Sebagadis. The latter quarreled among themselves about the property left them by their father; so that their soldiers lost all expectation of seeing them in the chair of government, and every one returned home. When I arrived here on the 20th of May, I found Walda Michael with but thirty or forty soldiers, and intending to leave on the 23d; first, to go and subdue one of his brothers, who had till then refused submission to him, and then, to endeavor to secure to himself the government of Tigre. Before a reconciliation between these brothers was effected, they received intelligence that Oubea was near Antalo, which immediately restored harmony between them.

This news soon spread far and near; the women of the villages collected together every evening, to cry, at the highest pitch of their voices, "To arms! To arms! Oubea is coming to destroy us!" The soldiers immediately rallied around Walda Michael, so that in two days his army amounted to about five hundred men, with whom he determined to wait for Oubea. Oubea's object in coming, was the seizure of an individual named Sol Angueda, who pre-

tended to the government of Tigre and Samen, where he had many partisans. Oubea had about five hundred horsemen, but no other troops. Having bound Sol Angueda, he abruptly withdrew into his own country.

After the departure of Oubea, Walda Michael purposed to go and reduce Adowah and the vicinity to submission; but as he approached Adowah, he found himself surrounded by several chiefs, all of whom were not only enemies to him, but were also at variance among themselves. Seeing himself thus encompassed, he proposed a truce to one half of his enemies, who accepted it till the middle of September. Viewing himself still too weak to attack the other half of the opposing party, he returned to Adigrate about the middle of July, when Azai Guigar, with several other chiefs, suddenly fell upon him. At first, Walda Michael considered the battle lost to himself; but remembering, that defeat on that day would be certain death to his cause and that of his brothers forever, he rushed forward, with but a single boy by his side, into the ranks of the enemy. Seeing him thus exposed, his men were inspired with fresh courage, and gained the victory over an army more than four times their own in number. Azai Guigar made his escape; but his four sons, and nearly all the other chiefs, were taken prisoners.

In the middle of August, Walda Michael achieved the victory over another party, and took a fortress or mountain to which his enemies had retired with their property. He has yet to contend with three parties beside Oubea, before he can consider himself governor of Tigre; but the valuable spoils which their last victory secured to his army, induced

soldiers from every quarter to flock to his standard ; many, even, from the opposite parties surrendered. And more than this, the people of Adowah are filled with alarm, because, after Walda Michael's first victory, which was so little looked for, a report was circulated, that he had obtained from the English who were with him, (*i. e.* myself,) a medicine which would, on all occasions, ensure to him the victory. They had previously attempted to bind my servant, whom I had sent to Adowah, hoping thereby to secure a part of the treasures which they supposed I had left deposited in my medicine chest, and in the boxes containing my books.

Oct. 20th. For many days, the women have collected together at evening, to cry, "To arms!" Every one is filled with consternation, and many have taken flight. At the distance of some leagues, are three bands of rebels, who threaten, while Walda Michael is at Antalo, to plunder and destroy Adigrate and the adjacent region. They have robbed and burned several villages in the mountains of Haramat, about four leagues from this place ; but did not venture to come and conceal themselves in the mountains around Adigrate. They have retired, and all is again tranquil. I confess I am tired of this solitude, though I find a constant companion in my Bible. I see no way for me as yet but to remain in my loneliness ; but I thank God that my health is very good, and my eyes nearly well ; I, however, suffer constant pain in my teeth. I have no company, and rather than remain entirely without employment, I go with my servants, twice every week, into the adjacent mountains, to dig tsado-roots, from which they prepare wine or mead. This I do, both for my own benefit, and also to gain



friends ; but, aside from the preservation of my own health, my principal object is to set an example of labor to my servants as well as to the people of the neighborhood.

Nov. 3d. It is reported, that Walda Michael has at last effected the subjugation of Antalo and its suburbs ; and that, by lenient and gentle means. He has destroyed only one single village, and this one in which twenty of his soldiers had been killed. Should he, as he said, come here in about a fortnight, I shall try to persuade him to let me leave here, and to provide me an escort as far as Massowah ; but I fear he will refuse my request. Report says, that Oubea intends passing the Tacazze bye-and-bye ; if so, Tigre will be in trouble and commotion for a long time to come. Present circumstances augur a famine in the country ; for even now, there is scarcely any wheat to be bought, and the season of harvesting is nearly over. The locusts have devoured everything in Tigre, and, if reports are true, even beyond the Tacazze.

Dec. 8th. I have just passed three days with Kidam Mariam, chief of a caravan of Gondar. I was rejoiced to see that he had not forgotten our conversations of last year, and that he had obtained light on several essential points ; but he has not yet entered in *at the strait gate*. Soon as I saw him, he told me that he had come in advance of the caravan purposely to converse with me on the Word of God. He has had either the Gospel, or the Acts of the Apostles, in his hands from morning till night, during the three days he has spent here. On receiving a copy of both, he declared his intention of reading some chapters every evening, with the Christians of his caravan. The first evening, I heard

the servants of Kidam Mariam singing an air which touched me, even to tears; the only agreeable air I have heard in Abyssinia. I inquired what his men were singing; to which he replied, with tears in his eyes, "It is a dirge over Sebagadis, which the people in the whole Amhara country, weeping, sing every evening." The following is the literal translation of the Ethiopic:—

Alas! Sebagadis, the friend of all,  
 Has fallen at Daga Shaha, by the hand of Oubeshat!  
 Alas! Sebagadis, the pillar of the poor,  
 Has fallen at Daga Shaha, weltering in his blood  
 The people of this country, will they find it a good thing  
 To eat ears of corn which have grown in the blood?  
 Who will remember [St.] Michael of November?  
     [i. e. to give alms?]  
 Mariam, with five thousand Gallas, has killed him:  
     [him, i. e. who remembered to give alms:]  
 For the half of a loaf, for a cup of wine,  
 The friend of the Christians has fallen at Daga Shaha!

Kidam Mariam had with him a slave, or servant, (for the Abyssinian Christians do not sell their slaves,) of Sidama. I wished to make several inquiries of him respecting his country; but he was so young when sold, that he has very little definite knowledge about it. He said that the Sidamas are Christians, and their country large, and very good. He remembered having seen books, but was wholly ignorant of their contents. The Sidamas are a peaceable race, seldom engaging in war; but their king evinces a tyrannical disposition; for, let one of his subjects commit any crime whatever, the king sells him, and not unfrequently, his whole

family with him, to the Gallas, as a slave. On the death of the last king, vast treasures of money were found in his house, amounting to four hundred mule loads. The country lies at the south-west of Gooderou, a distance of two months' travel by caravan. On this side of Sidama is a Galla province, called Enarea; the king, or present governor of which, has procured an Abyssinian priest to offer prayers for himself and people. He has given him the best house the country affords, and generally treats him as an equal; but neither the king nor the priest think of teaching the people.

Forty days since, when Kidam Mariam left Gondar, the country was in peace and quiet; but since then, there seems to have been quite a revolution. Some say, that nearly all the under-governors have deserted Ali Mariam, and attached themselves to Aligas Faris, governor of Lasta, who has stationed himself near Lalibala, with the design of reducing all the Amhara country. Others say, that Aligas Faris is at Debra Tabor, the usual residence of Googsa and his children, three short days' journey from Gondar, between Bellessa and Begameder; that the chiefs who had joined him have revolted, and called Oubea to their help; and that Aligas Faris is hemmed in on every side. This much, however, is certain,—that Oubea, who intended coming to Tigre, has suddenly left to join Ali Mariam. In Aligas Faris the children of Sebagadis have a friend.—I have since learned that Aligas Faris was conquered toward the last of October, and made his escape with great difficulty. He is now divested of all authority; for should he return to Lasta, the inhabitants would no longer acknowledge him their sovereign.

10th. Intelligence reached this place yesterday evening, that Cassai, the chief of Tembene, and son of Sebagadis, had revolted against his brothers, wishing to usurp the government to himself. Contrary to the advice of his brothers, he recently plundered a district, and drove away about two thousand head of cattle, which he distributed among his own soldiers, and those of his eldest brother, Walda Michael, hoping therewith to bribe them. At the same time, he sent to his brother's enemies, inviting them to come and attack Walda Michael while his soldiers were absent. There was also an understanding between himself and a chief, who was defeated by his brothers sometime since, and who was to come to-day to plunder Adigrate and its borders. Day before yesterday, about a hundred soldiers, belonging to his brother, Walda Michael, and who were going to rejoin their chief, had been seized by him and bound. All had resolved last evening to make their escape this morning; but, at three o'clock, a messenger came with the news, that Cassai was taken prisoner yesterday on a mountain or fortress, and put in chains. While all this was transpiring, Walda Michael, who had started to meet his opponents near Antaló, acquainted his brother Cassai with all his secret plans, and invited him to join him soon as possible. Since the death of Sebagadis, none of the friends of Walda Michael look to Cassai for protection or advice. It was currently reported about a fortnight since, that Cassai contemplated putting his brother in irons. A priest informed Walda Michael of the same, and advised him to be on his guard; but Walda Michael replied, "I shall take no precaution against my brother, for we have sworn immutable fidelity to each other, in the

presence of God. If I perjure myself, all my precautions will avail me nothing; God will punish me for it without the interference of any man; and should my brother break his oath, most certainly God will give him his just reward."

11th. About nine o'clock this morning, bitter cries and lamentations were heard from every quarter. On going out to learn the cause of the distress, every one I saw was rubbing his face till the skin came off the forehead and both cheeks; and some tore all the hair from their heads. The women were running in all directions, beating their breasts; and nobody had breath enough to answer me, when I inquired the reason of all this tumult. At last, I heard a cry, that Walda Michael was dead. To ascertain the truth of the case, I sent to his wife; who replied, that Walda Michael had been surprised by his Antalo enemies, and made their prisoner. Half the inhabitants of Adigrate instantly took flight with such of their goods as they could carry with them. Those who had the means, removed their most valuable articles to a neighboring mountain. For myself, I went about getting my things in readiness to leave either this evening or to-morrow morning, unless something more favorable should reach us before night; but being accustomed to hear false reports every day, I was inclined to doubt the correctness of the news this morning; but I could not feel perfectly at ease. Towards three o'clock this afternoon, cries of joy burst upon our ears. A messenger, who was at the battle of the 8th of December, had just arrived with the tidings, that, on that day, all the chiefs of the neighborhood of Antalo fell by surprise upon Walda Michael, who had with him about two hundred soldiers only, to whom



he made a brief address, closing with these words ; " To-day there is danger. Without a gun, or even a lance, sword in hand, spread terror in the midst of our enemies !" So saying, he made the first advance toward his antagonists, and, in less than one quarter of an hour, put to flight their army of about two thousand men. Walda Michael made some of the chiefs prisoners, but the two most powerful effected their escape. The morning's report is supposed to have been an intrigue of Cassai, chief of Tembene. They were about setting him at liberty, at the very moment the news of his brother's victory reached here.

13th. Our friend Girgis, with whom we became acquainted in Egypt, has just arrived from Adowah, where he has spent the last few months. He has had the misfortune to lose the whole of his little property, which he acquired during his residence in Egypt. He says the priests of Gondar attempted to take his life, because he advanced opinions contrary to their own, so that he was compelled to flee by night. Poor fellow ! he longed to preach the Gospel to these ignorant priests, but, like many other zealots, he failed in discretion. He would engage in violent disputes concerning the three births of our Saviour, and thus prevented, or, at least, hindered the very object he wished to accomplish. His residence at Adowah has apparently diminished his zeal, and cooled his ardor, in the interest of his Divine Master ; though I think it has neither weakened his faith, nor perverted his views of the doctrines of the Gospel.

15th. To-day, a Damotera was brought in for me to look at. (See Feb. 9th.) It is an insect resembling a spider, about two inches long, and entirely covered with hair of a

deep brown color. I had before seen several, without supposing them to be hurtful.

31st. On reviewing the year just closing, I am forced to this, as the only correct conclusion :—*Perdidi annum*.\*

Jan. 2, 1832. Walda Michael has arrived at Adigrate, intending to leave again before many days, hoping to subdue Adowah.

Feb. 3d. I have suffered severely from a complaint in the stomach, ever since the arrival of Walda Michael. I am not yet fully restored, but, thanks to God! I am wholly relieved from pain.

26th. Walda Michael has left for Adowah with very few men. While here, he presented me with four cows. If one would avoid offending an Abyssinian prince, he is obliged to accept whatever he pleases to give. In the present instance, however, the donor claimed some little favor in return; giving me no rest till I had consented to sell him a brace of pistols, which I had carefully kept for my journey from this place to Massowah, and for which he willingly gave me twenty talaris.

March 16th. *Guegues*. I have again been compelled to betake myself to flight. Oubea no sooner learned that Walda Michael was at Adowah, than he passed the Tacazze with the few soldiers that he had about him; and while he waited on

\* "*I have lost a year.*"—Our missionary is here speaking of immediate and visible results. But no one knows better than he does, that the months during which the seed-corn lies buried in the earth, are not time lost. *Behold, the husbandman waiteth for the precious fruit of the earth, and hath long patience for it, until he receive the early and latter rain*; James v. 7.

the shore some three or four days for the arrival of his troops, all the chiefs of Enderta, Tembene, Tigre, and Shere, joined him. The sons of Sebagadis retired into the environs of Adigrate, to defend all passes by which Oubea could possibly enter the district of Agame. Oubea wished to get before them; and he was not more than a day's journey from Adigrate, when they hedged up his way. His cavalry cannot number less than one thousand, besides a number of Gallas. The sons of Sebagadis have but few with them, except the peasants of Agame and some Teltals. When they heard at Adigrate of the near approach of the hostile army, all fled. I was disposed to remain to witness the event; but all the people, as they ran on, cried out to me that I was a madman, which so frightened those in my house, that I at last found myself obliged to yield to their entreaties. Consequently, I set out this morning, to take refuge in the monastery of Debra Damot; but knowing the insatiable covetousness of the monks, I resolved, on the road, not to go near them till pressed by absolute necessity. This is the reason of my staying here, in a small house belonging to a married priest, waiting for further events. Guegues is about two leagues to the east of the monastery of Debra Damot. The district is called Damot.

17th. Ali's servant, sitting, this evening, at the door of my house, was bitten by a serpent. I was reminded of the passage in Amos v. 19. Ali applied burning coals to the wound as long as the man could endure it; but after the space of five minutes, the skin being already quite burned away, he still felt no heat; and it was with the greatest difficulty that we could keep him awake. But now, at ten

o'clock, there are no bad appearances, except the wound occasioned by the fire.

April 4th. I have been called to-day to the performance of a melancholy and painful duty. Having come to an open rupture with Girgis, in consequence of his irregularities, I felt constrained to take my final leave of him. Perhaps my brethren in Europe will censure me for having had too much patience with him, and for not having sooner taken this decisive step. Should such a charge be preferred against me, all I can say is, that I felt it incumbent on me to treat him with all that mildness and forbearance that circumstances would allow. I will, however, give some account of his conduct, and of my treatment of him since his return from Adowah, so that they can judge for themselves. When he arrived at Adigrate, in December last, I found him in his religious affections extremely cold and languid. He, however, spoke well and in a Christian manner of the grace of God, frequently saying that he trusted in that alone for salvation. Yet his general deportment was such, that I felt a kind of antipathy irresistibly rising in my bosom, mingled with the love I had uniformly entertained for him. After a short time, he told me he must return to Adowah for a part of his baggage which he had left there; and commenced his journey the following day. It was reported that he had a wife in that city, and that he had gone to visit her. But I could not believe it, because I knew the strong propensity of the Tigreans to falsehood; and besides, I had heard certain circumstances respecting him, while at Gondar, which rendered the declaration altogether improbable. But contrary to my confident expectation, he arrived at Adigrate on

the 5th of January with a woman, whom he called his servant. He very soon, however, gave indications which satisfied my domestics that she sustained to him a very different relation. My first determination was to drive them instantly from my house; but, on further deliberation, I said to myself, Jesus Christ would not have acted thus hastily: I therefore resolved to exercise forbearance towards him for a time, and treat him with kindness, hoping I should thus be able to make a deeper impression on his dark and obdurate heart. Several days passed on, and I neither commended nor censured him. At length, he sent one of his servants to me with his compliments, and asking pardon for his fault. I barely replied, that I did not wish to treat with him through a mediator. Upon this, he came in person, and with tears in his eyes, frankly acknowledged his misconduct. He said that for fourteen years he had led a single life of virtue; but for some time past his affections had become so deeply ensnared with the charms of this woman, that he could not be happy but in her society. Assuming a gentle tone, I mildly answered that I was not very much surprised at his fall, notwithstanding it exceedingly pained me; that I could not bear to see him walking the broad road to perdition; and, that although I pitied him for his infirmities and his crimes, I could make him but one alternative:—he must either be united to this woman in regular marriage, and that for life, or else he must instantly discard her. He chose the latter; and the next day, dismissed her. I indulged the hope, that his fall would result in humbling him, and prove beneficial to him in other respects. For several days he courted retirement, and frequently sought a solitary



place that he might weep ; he could neither eat nor sleep. He appeared to suffer the keenest pangs of remorse. But the sequel too plainly proves that he did not sorrow after a godly sort. At length, just as I was setting out on my journey to Guegues, he said to me, that the woman with whom he had been connected had so much engaged his affections, that he could not reconcile himself to living without her, and craved permission to renew his intercourse with her. Astonished and grieved at the proposal, I addressed him in the most serious and affecting manner in my power, and closed by saying, that if he would regularly marry her with the determination of separating from her only at death, I should not, for that reason, withhold from him my friendship, although I did not desire that she should ever enter my house, as she bore the reputation of being a woman of abandoned character. He said he would marry her, and forthwith take her into the house which he had hired for her use. I waited several days, and, as he did not fulfil his promise, I demanded of him why he did not solemnize his marriage, and thus make known to the world that he was regularly united to the woman of his choice. To my regret and surprise, he replied, that he could not endure the thought of forming the connection for life ; but, at the same time, his attachment was so strong, that he could not think of repudiating her at once ; he therefore requested the privilege of living in intimacy with her until our departure for Egypt. I thought it wisdom to bear no longer with his perversity, and told him in a decided tone, that since he had sold himself to the devil to live in sin after having known, and, in some measure, felt the truth, I could have no farther

communication with him, and that he must immediately leave my house and supervision, and rush on in his own dark way alone. Thus this fair flower which had so beautifully blossomed, and been the object of my fondest hopes for the future, has fallen and withered;—an event that has caused me more pain and heart-felt grief than any misfortune that has befallen me since I left Europe.

\* \* \* \* \*

May 22d. *Adigrate*. Having learned that Kidam Mariam of Gondar was intending presently to pass this way, and that Oubea had retired as far as Tembene, I returned hither, where the air is much more salubrious, and the house much more convenient than at Guegues. At Guegues, I had no religious conversations, except with the priest, my host, who was very anxious for knowledge, but evidently still “dead in trespasses and sins.” The others who visited me never chose to understand my Tigrean dialect when I spoke on religious subjects.

28th. I have been passing three days with the Gondar merchants; but Kidam Mariam has been so constantly engaged with the custom-house officers, that I have been prevented from having any connected conversation with him. I have become acquainted with a traveler,\* a gentleman of Frankfort, who proposes returning with this caravan into the interior. His principal object is, to collect whatever he can find that is interesting in natural history, chiefly in zoology. My servant, Guebrou, has also left with the caravan. I have been less satisfied with him for the last few

\* Mr. Ruppell, the gentleman referred to in the Introduction, on the geography of the country.

months, than I was previously to that time. Not that I can complain of anything in particular in his conduct; but seeing himself superior to others in knowledge, he appears to cherish a degree of pride, which causes me some anxiety. Yet I regard him with brotherly affection, and cannot but hope, that the opposition he will encounter will be serviceable to him.

Kidam Mariam informed me to-day, that Girgis had embarked at Massowah near the middle of April, in company with that infamous woman, whom he had suffered to allure him from the paths of virtue and peace.

June 9th. *Monastery of Debra Damot.* All is once more calm. After having plundered and burnt Atobi, and nearly the whole district from Tembene to the frontier of the Teltals, Oubea retired to the province of Tembene, with the supposed intention of returning to Samen to pass the winter. The Fit-Aurari, Guebra Amlac, brother of Sebagadis, hearing of this, immediately deserted his brothers and nephews, to go and connect himself with a man named Golja, governor of a district between Antitcho and Adowah; and who has done nothing but rob his neighbors and travelers, ever since the death of Sebagadis. Walda Michael hastened with half his army to pursue his uncle, designing to besiege the mountain to which, with Golja, he had retired. When the Fit-Aurari deserted, he called upon Oubea for succor, promising to conduct him safely to Adigrade, provided he would only restore to him the rank of Fit-Aurari, which Walda Michael had taken from him about a year ago, on his first desertion. While Walda Michael was besieging the mountain, Oubea made his appearance;

and seeing himself too feeble to contend with his antagonist in the plain, Walda Michael withdrew to the mountains west of Adigrate, with the design of occupying there all the narrow passes; but he was forsaken by nearly half his soldiers, who were filled with consternation and dismay. (There is no punishment for a common soldier who deserts, provided he does not carry a gun.) A messenger arrived before day this morning, announcing Oubea's arrival at Besate, near Debra Damot. At daybreak, all fled for refuge to the mountains in the vicinity of the Teltals, a perfectly savage race, whither they had previously removed their wheat and other valuables. As nothing can be purchased there, I could not go with the rest; but about nine o'clock, I started for Debra Damot, where I arrived in safety about four o'clock in the afternoon. I went immediately to the camp of Oubea, which is less than a league from the monastery. I should think his troops consisted of three or four thousand; but it is said that nearly half of them are women.

12th. For some days past, Oubea has been engaged in ravaging all the neighboring villages. His soldiers and the peasants engaged in some slight contests, leaving several wounded, but only three or four killed. Oubea, or rather, the Fit-Aurari, Guebra Amlac, has burned some houses every day, but only the best in each village. A report of the death of the young Ras, Ali Mariam, reached here a few days since; but it is impossible in Abyssinia to ascertain the truth. Be the report true or not, Oubea would not go to Adigrate, notwithstanding the urgent entreaties of the Tigrean part of his army. He departed this morning, however, on his return; but it is not yet known whether he in-

tends passing the rainy season at Adowah, or to recross the Tacazze. Several distant fires have been seen this evening. Oubea is probably destroying a district between Besate and Antitcho, whose inhabitants have remained faithful adherents to the children of Sebagadis. It is said that when Oubea was defeated by Mariam two years ago, notwithstanding his strict and persevering attendance upon fasting and prayer, he remarked, that since God gave the victory to the wicked, he also would be wicked that he might thus prosper. From that time, his conduct has uniformly been in accordance with this resolution.

16th. I see some of the monks every day of my stay at Debra Damot; but their whole minds are given to the war, to the exclusion of every other subject. I can scarcely gain their attention, even for two or three minutes, when I speak to them of the one thing needful. I must, however, except Debtera Neblou, my host, a fine old man; for his heart, so far as I can judge, is not insensible to the love of God. Yesterday evening, a few monks, with five or six others, assembled in my room. The principal subject of my remarks to them was *that faith which worketh by love*, as opposed to the legal and servile fear by which they are prone to be actuated through life. They gave me their undivided attention till nearly two o'clock, without offering any remark, or asking any questions of consequence. They made one or two inquiries, however, which I will barely notice. They asked me if I supposed that those who led a single life in our country, were as deserving of reward as those with them who were really nuns and monks by a vow. I directed them to their own hearts, to see if corrupt and illicit



thoughts were not reigning there; and some of them confessed the fact in such a manner, that I could not doubt their sincerity. I feel satisfied that they would all soon leave the convent, were it not for the fear of man.

21st. I visited the church dedicated to the Abuna Aragawi, (from the word *Araga*, "to ascend,") who is there represented as holding the tail of a serpent which is ascending a rock. On the side, is recorded the story of his ascension to the rock of Debra Damot, which, as far as I could comprehend it, is as follows:—Aragawi was one of the nine Apostles sent into Abyssinia by St. Athanasius. After having spent some years in instructing the people, he greatly desired a situation where he could enjoy more retirement; but his numerous miracles constantly attracted such numbers to him, that he could never be alone. Passing one day, near the rock of Debra Damot, he felt a strong desire to ascend it, that he might spend his life there alone in communion with God; and, at that instant, there came a serpent, eighty cubits long, which began gliding up the rock. When Aragawi saw that his head had reached the summit of the rock, he seized him by the tail, and the serpent drew him up to the top. After remaining there some length of time, and experiencing the sanctity of the place, he conceived the project of establishing a convent there for the purpose of giving his brethren an opportunity of sharing his happiness. He therefore spun a cord, by means of which some monks ascended up to him. Two or three hundred monks have constantly lived there from that time; no woman having ever set her foot there.

I went, afterward, to see the tombs cut in the rock, which

surpass anything I could have expected in Abyssinia, although they are very inferior to those of Jerusalem. The monks dig them during their lifetime. In one of these excavations, I found a monk who never leaves his abode, and who, consequently, has a reputation for extreme sanctity through that whole region. I found him, however, full of self-righteousness and ignorant of the righteousness of Christ. He could talk of nothing but himself, telling me how he is supplied with everything he needs without ever leaving his cavern in quest of any want. To convince him of sin, I began by telling him that his life is in direct opposition to the Gospel;—for either he has no light, and is therefore a hypocrite in passing himself off for a child of light; or he has light, but disobeys the command of Jesus Christ to his disciples, that they *let their light shine before men*, &c. He listened to all I said without making any reply, astonished that I could doubt his sanctity; at last, he asked me for a copy of the Gospel. By the side of his own, is another cave, in which all the monks affirm that the Abuna Aragawi is still living, and that, from time to time, he manifests himself to the more holy among them. I wished to go into it; but the monks, who said that it was impossible to come out of it alive, would not suffer any one to enter with a candle; and fearing there might be some precipice in it, I would not venture without a light.

25th. *Adigrate*. Although the air of Debra Damot affects me unpleasantly, I would gladly have remained there some time longer, because, during some of the last days, I had several opportunities of preaching the Gospel to the monks, who evinced an attachment to me; but being unable

to procure any wheat in the vicinity, I was obliged to return to Adigrate, where I arrived yesterday, at the same time that Walda Michael did ; but he has left again this morning, without giving me a direct answer to the request I made him, to let me leave for Egypt.

July 9th. It is not yet known whether Oubea has re-passed the Tacazze ; but without waiting to ascertain, Walda Michael has left for Antalò, where his enemies have roused up since the arrival of Oubea. I again asked him to let me go ; but he advised me to delay a little longer, pretending that he could do nothing at present to facilitate my journey ; but promising to let me go at the end of the month of August, with the assurance that there would then be no obstacle in the way.

30th. Yesterday morning, women were heard on all sides, crying, "To arms ! to arms !" I had retired to a grove for prayer ; and, on my return, I was told that the Fit-Aurari, Guebra Amlac, and Golja, were not more than three leagues off, coming to pillage Adigrate and all the district of Agame. Nearly all the inhabitants of Adigrate fled with their cattle. But not knowing where I could find a safe retreat, I reasoned with myself, that having long been on friendly terms with the Fit-Aurari, he might possibly leave me unmolested. They ransacked several villages between Damot and Agame ; but the peasants belonging to the plundered villages, having united together, succeeded last evening in overcoming the soldiers of the Fit-Aurari and Golja, recovered their stolen property, and in addition, seized a quantity of arms in the possession of two banditti. It is said, that they have gone home to-day, intending to return shortly with a larger force.

Aug. 2d. A couple of lads, one aged fifteen, and the other sixteen, who had agreed to serve Girgis for a year with no other remuneration than the privilege of being conducted to Egypt, and sent thence to Jerusalem, have just arrived at my house from Massowah. Their appearance in some respects is good; and, to the praise of Girgis it must be said, that he has instilled into their minds an ardent desire to learn and understand the truth. Their story is too interesting in itself, and too intimately connected with the fortunes of this unhappy man, to be passed over in silence.

When Girgis left me in April, concealing from me his intention, he immediately set off for Massowah, where he was obliged to remain nearly a month, waiting an opportunity for sailing to Jedda. The frown of God seemed here to rest upon him; despised by the Abyssinian merchants who happened to be there, and destitute of money, he was obliged to dispose of his clothing and the few ornaments of his concubine, in order to procure the immediate necessities of subsistence. But as the time of departure approached, his servants, who had all along suffered the extremes of famine, and who well knew that his resources were very limited, if not entirely exhausted, were exceedingly surprised to see his house filled with every kind of provision for the contemplated voyage; and when they asked him whence he derived all this abundance, he simply replied that he had taken this occasion to unfold to their view the rich stores he possessed. At length the day on which he was to sail, arrived, and they all embarked together for Jedda; but when they reached the island of Dahlac, he put his two servants ashore, telling them that the Naïb had thus com-



manded, and, that in a few days he would send a vessel to transport them to Jedda, where he would await their coming. His concubine wept bitterly on separating from them, although she was probably ignorant of the foul plot that was going on against them. The conduct of Girgis was very different; he barely remarked to them, "As St. Helena was left amidst the waves and was miraculously preserved, so I leave you here; if you are the children of God, he will undoubtedly save you; if not, he will abandon you to destruction;" and, so saying, he took his leave. The deserted boys went directly to the house of the governor of the island, who maintained and treated them kindly for about a fortnight, although he watched them with the greatest vigilance, never leaving them for a moment alone. All their wants were abundantly supplied; but that instinctive desire of liberty and preservation which burns in every man's bosom rendered them restless and uneasy. They began to think, and it was made the subject of frequent remark among themselves, that they should probably be sold into slavery; or, that they were treated thus kindly, only that they might be allured by blandishments to embrace the doctrines of Islamism. Indeed, they had already been assailed on this point; great promises had been held out to them, though always with extreme caution and mildness. They cheered each other in their trials, mutually strengthening their courage to suffer every extremity, even death itself, rather than renounce their faith or deny their Lord; and frequently offered up their united prayers to God for sustaining grace to confess the name of Jesus, although the most fearful consequences might follow the steadfastness of their profession.



In the midst of these harassing fears and conflicting emotions, their host informed them that the bark which was to transport them to Jedda had arrived, and that they must be ready to depart in two or three days. On the reception of this news, they were still more anxious and troubled than before, though they could give no definite reason for their fears. In the meantime, one of them had learned Arabic enough to understand familiar conversation; and, on inquiry, they found that the bark that was to take them was laden for Yemen. They were then convinced that their destination was slavery. The next day, their master being absent, they walked out attended, upon the seashore, where they met an old man of respectable appearance, of whom they asked counsel, entreating him to facilitate their return to Massowah. Their guard opposed his interference, but the old man became interested in the forlorn situation of the boys, and soon succeeded in securing for them a passage to the desired port. On their arrival, they entered the house of the very man who had secretly bought them, not in the least suspicious of injury from him, because they had previously lodged at his house, while under the protection of Girgis; but he kept them more closely and treated them more severely than their overseer at Dalhac had done. For several days, they were confined to the house, without permission to leave it a moment. Their host said little to them but by way of mildly advising them to remain closely concealed at his house for a time, lest some marauding brigand should discover and claim them as his property; but to his domestics he gave another lesson, charging them to keep a strict watch over his prisoners, and not permit them to pass

over the threshold of his house. The poor boys began to think that they had not yet escaped from the clutches of their enemies, feeling that they were indeed doomed to slavery. They again mutually encouraged each other, and unitedly prayed to God to preserve them from the evils they feared, or give them courage to confess Jesus Christ under all circumstances, however trying. One day, after having thus prayed, they found means of making their escape, and fled to the governor, (a Turk,) before whose house they besought assistance and protection; but he was surrounded with too many people, and too much occupied to listen to their entreaties. While they were here waiting an audience, their host unexpectedly arrived, and discovered them. At first, he endeavored to frighten them into a willingness to return; but failing in this, he had recourse to mildness and the lure of a promise; and afterwards, undertook to enforce their submission. But the Naïb interfered and retained them at his house; and here they first learned definitely what their enemies had intended to do with them. Girgis, by an agreement with his host at Massowah, had sold them to a brother of his, for thirty talaris, who came to the house of the Naïb to claim his property, but in vain. On the very night of their arrival, when all the inhabitants of the place were buried in sleep, it was the intention of their captors to have shipped them for Yemen. But their purposes were thwarted; the *Naïb* kept and sustained them a number of weeks, until a safe opportunity presented itself for sending them to Halai. In the meantime Girgis had departed, carrying with him a portion of the stipulated price of the boys.

Sept. 12th. Intelligence of the death of our friend, Ali of

Egypt, has just reached me. More than a year since, his wife, in a fit of jealousy, administered to him a dose of poison, which ever after rendered the state of his health feeble and precarious. He left my house fifteen days ago, much better than usual, to go and attempt a reconciliation between two tribes of Shobos, below Halaï. There he met an old Mussulman, who offered him a Mussulman medicine, assuring him, that it would decide his case one way or the other—either secure his restoration to perfect health, or terminate his life. Agreeably to the great principle of Islamism, that if an unalterable decree had not decided his death, this medicine would prove efficacious, Ali expressed his determination to receive it. He took it, and died on the following day.

13th. For the last two months, I have spent a considerable portion of my time in the society of a Greek, named Demetros, originally from Thessalonica, but who has now resided in Abyssinia for twenty-two years. On our arrival in the country, he made every effort to blacken our character in the view of Sebagadis, of whom he was the peculiar favorite. I therefore thought it my duty to treat him with more kindness, and exhibit a greater warmth of friendship than I otherwise should have done; a course of conduct which has made a very favorable impression, both upon himself, and those who had previously heard him speak of us in the most contemptuous manner, declaring all our religion to be mere pretence. But he has been brought to a partial discovery of the evil of his past life; he often deploras the corruption of his heart, and the misfortune which led him to this country, here to lose every feeling of reverence or love

for God. When he came to Abyssinia at the early age of eighteen, his character was good ; for five years he successfully resisted the intrigues of infamous women who undertook to ensnare him in their artful toils. But he was finally overcome and drawn into crime by a woman of some distinction in the country, who gave him an intoxicating draught mingled with wine. For several days, he wept incessantly over his fall, but his bitter sorrow did not change his heart. He at length said to himself, that since he had lost his innocence, he might as well yield himself up to the sway of his passions, as endeavor to struggle against them. From that time he entirely forsook his Bible, and plunging down the dark stream of ruin, becoming even worse than the Abyssinians themselves. He is, however, still able to repeat a great portion of the Four Gospels, and of the Psalms. He started, this morning, to join his family at Axum, apparently determined to return to virtue and to God.

22d. *Debra Damot*. Having learned that Oubea, who has passed the rainy season at Tigre, is ere long to march from Adowah against the district of Agame with a numerous army, I have once more taken refuge in this monastery, whose monks have ever expressed to me nothing but kindness and friendship. I am told that Oubea always inquires very particularly about me, and that if he meets me at Adigrate or elsewhere, he is resolved to make amends for the wrong he did me, in a moment of impatience, at the time of my return from Gondar. The injury consisted in his refusing to receive a servant whom I sent to him. The sons of Sebagadis are greatly excited and alarmed ; but one battle which they have lately gained, and which has placed sev-



eral chiefs of Tembene in their power, has given them a little encouragement.

Oct. 3d. I have just passed eight days at Adigrate with Walda Michael, who is greatly dejected, inasmuch as his adherents are few, and the peasants of Agame are exceedingly terrified. His intimate friend, Belata Darasso, who received me so cordially at Toursogua, near the Tacazze, on my return from Gondar, gave me several opportunities of preaching the Gospel to the soldiers. They set out yesterday to go and meet Oubea, who is at the distance of only two short days' journey from Adigrate.

6th. Cassai, the son of Sebagadis, had a partial combat day before yesterday with Oubea's men. He killed about ten of them, and took some horses. This so revived the drooping hopes of the inhabitants of Agame, that it is said not a single peasant remains, who has not gone to join Walda Michael in the defence of their harvest, which is already commenced. Even the priests have gone to the war. The question respecting the government of Tigre will doubtless be decided before many days.

8th. I am much interested in a young Galla, who visits me twice every day, from his ardent desire to know the truth. To-day, he gave me a brief history of his life—made a prisoner and a slave at the age of fourteen years, (he is not yet thirty,) he was sold to a master at Gojam, who after causing him to receive the ordinance of baptism, soon restored him to liberty. Being once more his own, he might have returned to his country, which is not far from Gojam; but he was loth to bear the name of Christian, while a stranger to the great truths of Christianity. Without assistance,



and, I might almost say, without a master, he has attained to a tolerable understanding of the Ethiopic. He uniformly prepares his own parchment, for the purpose of learning to write; and although he has never had an instructor, his writing is very legible. Until the present time, he had no idea of the difference between the Gospel and human writings. But he is now studying the Epistles with the greatest assiduity. He went, three years ago, to visit his relatives, and entreated his father to come into the Amhara country, there to embrace the Christian religion. His father replied, that he had not the least objection to becoming a Christian; but, that always having been free, he could not bear to be regarded as a slave in the Amhara country. "But go," added he, "and bring hither a Christian priest to teach and baptize us; we will all receive his instructions." He returned to Amhara; but no intelligent priest could be found, who was willing to accompany him into his country. He therefore resolved to consecrate himself to the ministry; he became a monk at Gondar, and came to Tigre to receive the imposition of hands from the Abuna; but, on his arrival, the Abuna had just died; and, for more than two years, did he continue in Tigre, waiting for the coming of a new Abuna, from whom he could receive the sacred charge.

The disposition to murder is so common among the Gallas, that one can scarcely venture into their country, without hazarding his life; and a Galla, who has never imbrued his hands in a fellow-creature's blood, is despised by all his acquaintances; and his wife is still more contemptible. When she goes to get wood or to draw water, the wife of some one who has murdered, waits for her by the side of

her house, and takes her load from her by force, she, daring neither to defend herself, nor even to cry for help; on the contrary, she seeks to revenge herself on her husband, who can have no peace at home, till he brings positive proof that he also has killed a man. The country of the Gallas presents a vast field to the eye of the Christian public, and demands their special attention. It offers, perhaps, fewer obstacles to the messengers of Christ than those nations which have more complete systems of idolatry or anti-Christian superstitions; but I see not how it can be entered upon without the aid of one or two missionary stations in Christian Abyssinia.

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Nov. 6th. The Lord has again been pleased to visit me with a very severe sickness, from which, through his mercy, I have nearly recovered; although for several days I had no other food than dry bread, because there was absolutely nothing to be bought at Debra Damot but a little barley; and that with great difficulty; and in the present state of things, the roads are so deserted on account of thieves, that even beggars dare not pass lest they should be robbed of their rags.

When I returned from Adigrate a month ago, Oubea was in the district of Haramata, which he has entirely destroyed. It is reported that in one night alone his soldiers butchered nearly three hundred women and children; but it is said, that he expressed his disapprobation of it. While Oubea was at Haramata, the news came, that Aligas Faris had gone to the Amhara country, and had imprisoned Ahmade, governor of Gooderou. On receiving this intelli-

gence, Oubea ordered home the people of Tigre who were with him, pretending that he should leave for Samen. He passed by Antalo, and the report was circulated, that he had repassed the Tacazze. Consequently, the sons of Sebagadis left for Adowah; but while they were destroying and burning the district of Golja, the tidings reached them, that Oubea had entered the territory of Agame. They retraced their steps; and when they arrived on the 1st inst., found Oubea encamped near the village of Adigrate. On the 2d, they rested; gave him battle on Saturday, the 3d, and were defeated. Oubea lost about five hundred men, but he took a great number of prisoners. Meanwhile I am shut up here, with no means of foreseeing when I can leave for Egypt, and have only fifty talaris in my possession; but as I came into this world, so shall I leave it. He, who is the Saviour of all men, will provide me with all things needful.

During my last illness, I had frequent opportunities of preaching the Gospel, not only to several pilgrims who came to assist at the annual festival of the Abuna Aragawi, which occurred fifteen days ago, but also to the monks. The majority of the monks have become my enemies; and call me "Mussulman," because I condemn the adoration of the Virgin Mary, and have no confidence in her intercession; but the more intelligent, and consequently, the most influential, always evince friendship for me. There are some even, who condemn the worship of creatures, and begin to doubt the lawfulness of praying to the Virgin; but I know of none who sincerely seek the Saviour.

Nov. 14th. My servant Guebrou, having passed the rainy season with Oubea's army, in which he has two brothers, has

arrived here. He is bent on attending me as far as Egypt without wages; for the sole reason, he says, that he yet finds himself too weak to resist, alone, the temptations of the world, and the opposition of the enemies of the Gospel. I had already heard of his witnessing to the truth, both in his conduct and in his words; but I experience far greater joy in seeing him much more sensible, than formerly, of his weakness, and of the corruption of his heart.

I was told about two months ago, that my goods had been burned at Adowah, with a part of the church. I had thought that something might have been preserved; but Guebrou has just informed me that nothing is left entire, except a chest of books, containing the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles, in Amharic; the other books which are not wholly destroyed, are entirely spoiled and useless.

Since I left Adowah, in the month of February, 1831, the roads have been impassable; and the petty governors in the region of Adowah have confined all, whom they suspected of having a little money, in irons; so that, had I gone there, I could not have obtained my goods, and should have been obliged to relinquish all that I had left, to escape imprisonment and blows. Before the burning of my property, however, I had improved a favorable opportunity for sending for Golius' Dictionary.

21st. Two days ago, the sons of Sebagadis surrendered to Oubea, to prevent his entire destruction of their provinces, and to redeem the prisoners who were unjustly and cruelly treated by Oubea's soldiers. He received them well, and has given them about the half of their father's government. His officers wish to give the whole adminis-

tration of Tigre to Walda Michael, because he has fought bravely ; but Oubea has not yet consented.

23d. Guebrou's brother has been here, and taken him away by force. The poor youth wept bitterly ; but resistance was of no avail. The monks all coincided with his brother, and he was obliged to go. His sobs affected me deeply ; but I can most confidently recommend him *to God, and to the Word of his Grace, which is able to build him up, and to give him at last an inheritance among them that are sanctified.* I should have many things to say of this young man to the glory of God's almighty grace ; but the recollection of the sad history of Girgis constrains me to keep silence, and to rejoice only with trembling.

26th Perceiving the entire frustration of all his darling hopes, Walda Michael has finally consented to let me leave ; and I am preparing to set out to-morrow, if God permit. I have very little information from the interior. The country has been quiet during the past year, and the people are apparently well satisfied with the young Ras, Ali.\* Subsequently to my return from Gondar, the king, Guigar, was dethroned, and his place supplied by a King Joas, an entire stranger to me ; but it is now a year since Guigar, supporting the charge by false testimony, caused Joas to be accused of having invited Aligas Faris to usurp the government of Ras Ali. Joas was consequently divested of all regal power,

\* The Ras, Ali Mariam, seeing the horror that the people had of the name of Mariam, has retained that of Ali only, which is a Mussulman name ; his mother, before her marriage, having been a Mussulman of Gooderou. Ali is grandson of Googsa ; and not his nephew, as I thought.



and his vacancy filled by Guebra Christos; but it is now said, that the old king, Guigar, has procured his death by poison. The name of the present occupant of the throne I do not know.

Dec. 10th. *Massowah*. On the 27th of November, all the most respectable of the monks attended me on my departure from Debra Damot, to the pass where they descend the mountain, and some descended with me to the foot. On parting with them, I again gently exhorted them to give their hearts unreservedly to Jesus, and to trust in his grace for everything. Alaca Walda Selasse, a learned man of Shoa, who came to see me every day with a number of dogmatical questions, but for whom I felt no particular attachment, because he always opposed, in the driest manner, everything I said—suddenly burst into tears, and in the presence of all the monks, said to me; “Now that you are taking your leave, I ask your forgiveness for all the trouble that I have caused you. I had heard of you at Gondar, and your doctrine had awakened in my mind strong doubts on many essential points of belief. My principal object in coming here, was to see you, and to hear by what proofs you maintained your doctrine, in opposition to ours. I resisted you with all my might; several times even when already convinced of the truth of your words; but it was for the sake of obtaining stronger proofs of your doctrine. Now that we are parting, perhaps for life, I ought to be free and candid with you. It is you who have opened my eyes. I will treasure up your instructions in my heart, and will publicly call myself your disciple. You are my father.” On saying these words, he again wept; and I left him lean-

ing against a rock, bathed in tears. I took my night's lodging at Facada, three leagues east of Debra Damot, at the house of a relative of one of my servants. The district is called Goula Macada. The inhabitants of the place have presented Oubea with sixty bags of honey, to prevent him from seizing their property.

28th. I found Oubea with his army at Behate, where I remained four days. He received me in a very friendly manner, although he has several reasons for disliking the Europeans. Immediately on my arrival, he expressed to me his regret that he had refused to receive my servant, on my return to Gondar ; and then he inquired why I did not go to him myself. I told him, that on coming from Adowah, I had promised Walda Michael that I would not go near his enemies ; which reason was apparently satisfactory to him. I was introduced by the young prince, Tecla Georgis, my old friend of Adowah. I believe he was more rejoiced to see me again, than he would have been to see his own father. He had already told Oubea and his officers all that he could understand of my religious principles ; so that I had several opportunities every day of preaching the Gospel, both in Oubea's tent, and in those of his officers. I thought it my duty to avoid wounding their feelings, and therefore aimed rather to convince them of the positive truths of religion, than contradict their own, where it was not absolutely necessary. But one time, when Oubea's tent was full of people, a priest suddenly asked me why I objected to calling Mary the "Mother of God:"—to which I simply replied, that Jesus Christ being truly God and truly man, I did not, in one sense, oppose their calling Mary "Mother of

God," provided they did not thence draw the conclusion, that they ought to pay her religious worship and adoration ;—as if a feeble creature could share with the only God and Saviour of the world in the work of our redemption ; adding, that our reason, given us by God, teaches that there is something self-contradictory in the title "Mother of God,"—implying, that the Eternal, the Creator of the Universe, derived his existence from the creature of a day. "It would be much better to call her simply 'Mother of Jesus,' as the Apostles did ; and to believe the Gospel declaration, that if we imitate Mary in her faith, her humility, her love, and her obedience, Jesus Christ will sustain the same endearing relation to us that he does to Mary." Oubea interrupted me by saying, "It must be confessed that we are greatly presumptuous in calling Mary 'Mother of God,' while the Gospel does not authorize that appellation ; I am persuaded we had much better call her 'Mother of Jesus.'" As to the article of justification by faith, the whole body of Abyssinians, without exception, content themselves with saying, in a very vague manner, that as works are of no avail without faith, so faith is of no avail without works. They believe, that faith with baptism affords ample ground for the justification of a man, who was not previously a Christian ; but that God requires satisfaction for the sins committed after receiving this ordinance—that is, satisfaction by fasting, alms, and other similar penances. Some among them believe in absolute predestination—not only of the future condition of the godly and ungodly, but also of all their actions in this world. All are firmly persuaded that the precise moment of the death of every individual is long since

unalterably decreed, and that there is no escaping the universal destroyer.

Oubea is extremely unwilling to be suspected of ever having resolved upon any wrong act himself, but confesses that his soldiers, by their mischief, occasion him much trouble; which he proves by the extreme severity of his punishments. He has caused several to be beaten in my presence, for having stolen wheat; notwithstanding which, all the wheat of Behate is pilfered away.

All the copies of the Gospel in Ethiopic and Amharic have been distributed. I have commissioned Oubea's secretary, Walda Tecla, whom I knew before, to divide the remainder of the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles among those who desire them. Walda Tecla has given the copy of the Four Gospels, which I gave him at Gondar, to Walda Selasse, governor of Walcait; it is said, that he reads it day and night, and constantly inquires when they can have the rest of the New Testament in Amharic. I have not yet succeeded in getting an interview with him. Before parting, Oubea ordered Walda Michael to give me a good recommendation to Guidea, master of the customs, and chief of the district of Halaï, to conduct me safely to Massowah. Poor Walda Michael! he wept when I bid him farewell;—only begging me not to forget him. Oubea, at parting, sent me thirty talaris, to help me on my journey. Thus all the principal men in Abyssinia, who know me, prove themselves my friends.

Dec. 3d. I left Behate to come to Halaï by the same road we took in going. All the villages were deserted, the inhabitants having fled with their cattle to the mountains of



the Shohos, from fear that Oubea's army would pass by this road. We lodged the first night at Tohonda, (not Dohona, as we understood in coming,) where the three or four men whom we found there, prepared us a good supper, apologizing for their inability to entertain us as they wished, as all their property is concealed in the mountains. The succeeding day brought us to Halaï.

At Halaï I found five or six chiefs of the Shohos-Hassaorta, (Salt, *Hazaorta*;) whom, on our coming, we saw at Massowah in chains. They recognized me immediately, and said one to another; "This is he who gave us two dollars, when he passed through Massowah." We had given them this to procure necessary food. One cannot go from Halaï to Massowah and *vice versa*, without a guide of this tribe of Shohos; to whom, when going, a recommendation from the Naïb of Massowah is required, and, when returning, from the governor of Halaï. The Hassaorta Shohos have a dozen petty chiefs, who share in turn the privilege of conducting travellers; but they arrange that, after having made the bargain. Their usual fee for conducting a white man across their territory is ten talaris; but they readily consented to take me, as a countryman, for one talari and a half. They told me that Mr. Salt gave them a hundred and fifty talaris for attending him from Massowah to Halaï.

I found an Armenian at Halaï, who calls himself Bethlehem, and who came from India with a Portuguese servant; but he is so reserved and so incommunicative, that I could ascertain nothing about the intention of his journey. He said he was a citizen of Teflis in Georgia. He speaks English and Arabic with considerable fluency. He had



considerable trouble with the Shohos, although he had given ten talaris to his guide, and came with a caravan. They refused to let him pass unless he would give them money ; but, after having been detained three days, he apprized the Naïb of his detention, who immediately came himself to procure a pass for him.

6th. I left Halaï with a heavy heart, as I cast the last glance towards a country where I had just spent three years. I said to myself when passing through Halaï three years ago, that if I might but contribute in any way to the salvation of a single sinner, I should rejoice that I had come into this country ; and now I feel, that were there but one individual remaining in Abyssinia unacquainted with Jesus, I could exult in devoting my life to the leading of that one to the Good Shepherd. As I walked along, I returned thanks to God for his many mercies bestowed on me in this country ; but there rose within me a voice that could only cry, " Grace ! grace ! "

9th. I arrived at Dohono (Arkeeko) about sunrise. My Hassaorta guide has conducted himself with so much propriety that I presented him with an ass, worth two or three talaris, with which he was perfectly satisfied. The Naïb received me very well ; probably much better than if we had given him the thousand talaris which he demanded when we first passed ;\* but knowing that he was in the habit of taking mules from the Europeans as they return from Abyssinia, I presented him with both of mine. He would not have taken them by force ; but fearing that he might do so,

\* Mr. Ruppell, on entering Abyssinia, gave him one hundred and seventy talaris.

nobody would have bought them. The Naïb told me immediately on my arrival, that a boat would leave in two or three days for Jedda, with the Caïm-Macam, the governor of Massowah.

Dec. 10th. I arrived at Massowah, where I found Mr. Coffin, who handed me a very brotherly letter from Messrs. Jowett and Coates, of the month of June. Two years had elapsed since my last letter from Europe. It was truly a balm to my fainting spirit!

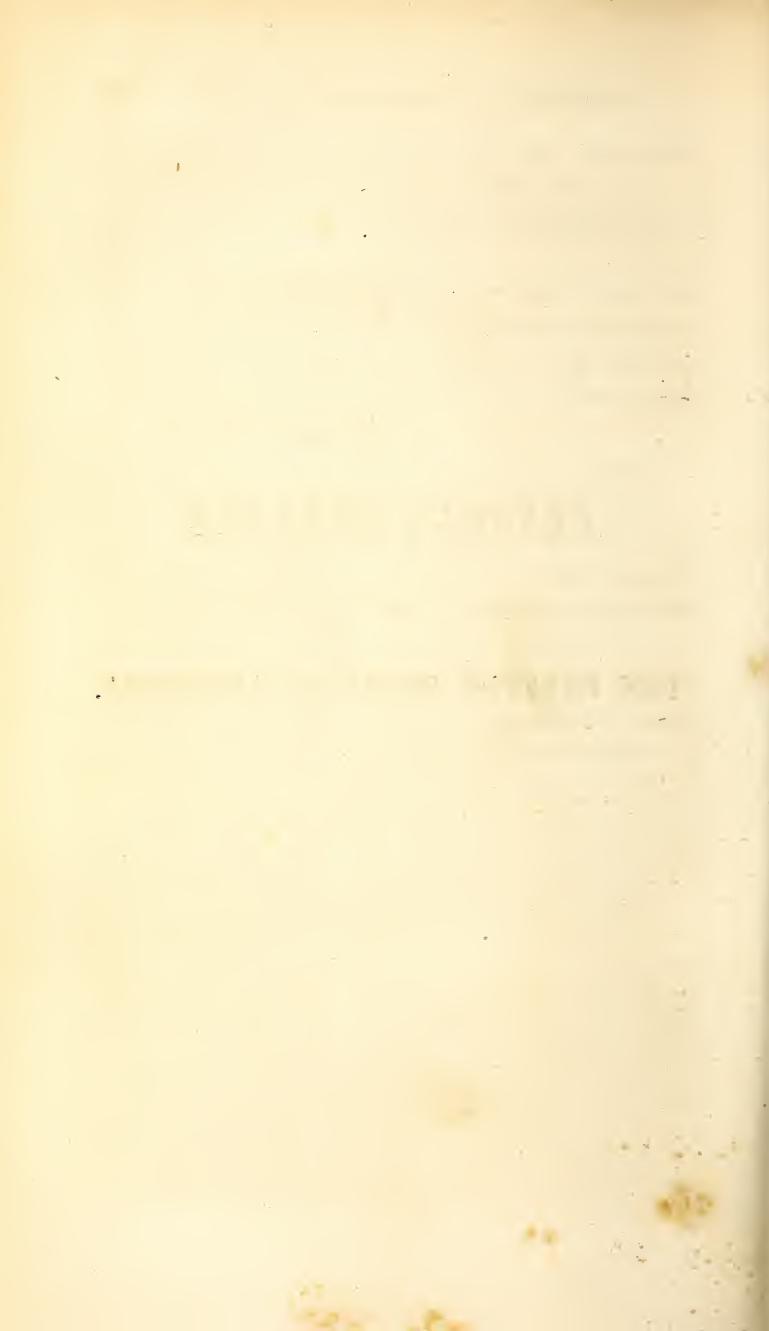
On the night between the 12th and 13th, I embarked at Massowah, and on the 2d of January, 1833, I arrived at Jedda, where the good Mallem Yousouf received me with his accustomed hospitality. The officers of the "Benares" corvette, which I found at Jedda, manifested as much kindness towards me as if I had been a near relative.

Feb. 6th, 1833. Captain Wilson of Bombay had the goodness to take me as far as Suez, in his steamboat; and on the 16th of the same month, I arrived safely at Cairo.

**GENERAL REMARKS**

**ON**

**THE PRESENT STATE OF ABYSSINIA.**



# GENERAL REMARKS

ON

## THE PRESENT STATE OF ABYSSINIA.

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In the preceding Journal, I have endeavored to give an accurate delineation of the various facts and events, which have fallen under my observation while residing in Abyssinia. I have confined myself, however, more particularly to occurrences which related, either directly or indirectly, to the object which the English Church Missionary Society had in view in planting a mission in the country. How well I have succeeded, it does not become me to affirm; but I may say, that I have uniformly aimed at candor and correctness. With this purpose in view in describing transactions, or delineating scenes, not personally witnessed, I have endeavored to employ, as far as possible, the identical expressions used by those from whom I derived the information, always anxious to keep at a distance from certain errors which I think I have sometimes remarked in the accounts of more systematic travelers. The error of journalists to which I more especially refer, springs either from vanity, or a want of accurate research; they keep the eye fixed upon the more elevated and splendid points, while the low level of common transactions is suffered to pass unheeded; thus recording those incidents only which but seldom occur; and this is done in such a way as to convey the impression that they are ordinary events. The consequence is, they make out a bundle of marvels which strike the European reader with admiration and surprise. Thus, also, it not unfrequently occurs, that in order to maintain a system of investigating and recording facts,—a system perhaps too hastily adopted,—they



are insensibly led into an error, from whose toils they are seldom able to extricate themselves, in attempting to communicate, in the form of a journal, their observations to others. A two-fold fault is the inevitable result ; first, they exaggerate objects and scenes, and secondly, speak too positively on points about which it would be wiser to suspend the judgment.

I shall, perhaps, be censured by some, as having manifested too much partiality for my friends, especially in what I have related concerning the various successes and reverses of the civil war. But the prevailing vices of the people are such, that it was almost impossible to avoid the imputation. It is peculiar to the Abyssinians, even without saying anything decidedly untrue, to convey wrong impressions ; misrepresenting actions and events, and distorting or coloring characters too deeply. When speaking of a friend, they carefully veil his imperfections, but tinge his excellencies with the brightest hues. When an enemy is the subject of remark, they take special care to shade his virtues, but bring out the defects of his character in bold relief. It is consequently almost impossible to obtain any very satisfactory information with reference to the achievements or personal qualities of others, whether derived from friend or foe. I have been at considerable pains to collate and weigh the faults and virtues of the different individuals who are at the present time conspicuous in Abyssinia, and I have come to the conclusion, that all with whom I have become acquainted, with the exception of Sebagadis, who must undoubtedly receive the palm of moral excellence, and Mariam, whom I am disposed to rank with the most depraved and vicious of his countrymen, may be arranged on the same level. Oubea is perhaps rather more intelligent, and possessed of finer intellectual capacities than the others ; but as to moral qualities, they all manifest about an equal mixture of good and evil.

Others, I am aware, may complain of the repetitions with which my Journal abounds. But in justification of these, I will say, that I have made them with the best intentions ; wishing to give a general idea of the difficulties and perplexities that a missionary must encounter when compelled, perhaps every successive day, to repeat over the same truths, and substantiate them by the same reasonings, which, though apparently unavailing, cannot, in consistency with his duty, be altogether dispensed with. I also flatter myself, that I

have thus indirectly given a sufficiently accurate description of the character, which should be possessed by a missionary to Abyssinia; the principal trait of which should be *untiring activity*, coupled with *untiring patience*.

Most of the observations I have made in my travels, especially those of the greatest importance, will be found in my Journal. But I have thought it might be for the gratification of the reader, to present him with a cursory sketch of the present condition of Abyssinia, slightly touching upon their religious rites and military affairs, their social customs and their laws.

### POLITICAL, CIVIL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS.

THE supreme judicial and executive power, including both the administration of the civil law, and military offices, are intimately connected in Abyssinia, being deposited in the hands of a single individual; for all the governors are both civil judges and military chieftains. The governors of the independent provinces are entirely uncontrolled in their official movements, obeying only the suggestions of their own caprice. Civil affairs, consequently, hang in a very loose and fluctuating state, and one cannot expect to find any settled or uniform system of political administration in the country. The *Rases* are free to bestow the government of their various subordinate districts on whom they please, and again, whenever fickle fancy dictates, to take away the power they have delegated; although they generally find it for their interest to adopt the hereditary system, in conferring the government of their numerous dependencies. It is left to their option either to choose counsellors to advise with them in the affairs of state, or, without reference to others, to manage according to their own discretion. They usually declare war without consultation with any one; but when they approach the encampment, or the hostile array, of their enemies, it is customary to obtain the opinions of their officers with reference to the mode of commencing the attack, or directing the defence.

Sometimes, they call together all their counsellors in solemn assembly, to hear the various opinions which they may please to offer; on other occasions, they ask their opinions separately, that, with more apparent propriety, they may reserve to themselves the

privilege of deciding according to their own inclination. This last method is usually employed by Oubea ; probably, because his sharp-sighted sagacity has led him to observe that the enmities of his countrymen are much stronger than their friendships ; and that not unfrequently an officer makes it his duty, rather to oppose the position of his rival, than calmly and impartially to consider the interest of his chief.

There is no uniform mode of punishing rebellious officers. Whenever the governors apprehend their subordinates in power who have proved themselves delinquent in duty, they chastise them, each in his own way. Oubea usually amputates one arm and a leg ; Sebagadis sometimes took their lives, and at others threw them into prison. Googsa, on the contrary, generously offered them one of his daughters in marriage, together with the government of one of his dependent districts, which they were ambitious of obtaining.

The Abyssinian chiefs, with the exception of Sebagadis, who seems not to have known how to take hold of the subject, have never thought of engaging in any measures of intellectual and moral improvement, or social melioration among their people. The absorbing object of their lives, apparently, is to increase their own power and emolument, while other matters of more importance, such as the happiness and prosperity of their subjects, the education of their children, and the destiny, for good or for evil, which may await them down the voyage of life, occupies but little of their attention. When, however, they find themselves approaching the termination of life, they commonly put forth a dying effort in favor of the son of their favorite wife, and endeavor to transmit to him the power and privileges which they themselves have enjoyed. But it often happens, that this chosen son, younger and less courageous than his brothers, is incompetent either to maintain his dignity or defend his rights.

The administration of law in Abyssinia is extremely simple. There is no legalized order of advocates, whose appropriate business it is to plead civil causes. When one has a subject of complaint against another, he rises before day, and places himself in front of the house of the governor of his district, and there continues his cries until his excellency is made to hear the representation of his wrongs. The accused is then sent for, who has the right of pleading his defence in person. The governor, now assuming the judge,

presides over the litigation. The parties reciprocally interrogate and examine each other; the judge listens to their statements and reasons, summons the witnesses, if there are any, and upon their testimony, or in default of foreign evidence, upon the oath of the parties, pronounces the sentence. To prevent confusion in the course of the trial, the judge directs the plaintiff and defendant to speak alternately in a regular series of charges, questions, and answers, enforcing his command by the denouncement of a pecuniary fine against him who interrupts the remarks of his opponent; and in this way order in the debate is secured. Should one of the parties bring forward any very serious charge, or one which strikes his adversary as altogether unfounded, the other has the privilege of requesting, by some sign, the liberty of replying; and the judge grants him his request by imposing silence on the other.

The inferior governors, however, are sometimes known to be seduced by the glitter of a bribe. Their decisions, consequently, are not always reposed in with perfect confidence, and all causes, which involve great interests, are usually brought for a second hearing before the governor-general, or Dejasmat, who spares no pains in investigating and ascertaining the truth. He frequently employs the assistance of some one who is learned in their code of civil laws, called *Fetha-Negest*, the origin of which they attribute to Constantine instead of Justinian; and having ascertained the meaning of its rigorous statutes, pronounces punishment accordingly. But though the Dejas mats are subject to no higher power, and are at full liberty in giving their opinions on litigated questions to follow their private inclinations, it is said, they are far less severe in the administration of the laws, than were the emperors when they held the sceptre of authority, and the sword of justice. Under their dynasty, a thief, for instance, was flogged for the first offence; for the second, his right hand was cut off; and for the third, he was executed; but in the present state of executive authority, the culprit is castigated several times before his limbs are amputated, or his life forfeited.

The lot of the murderer cannot be decided by the civil judges; he is left entirely to the clemency or severity of the relations of the murdered man. The judges may propose a pecuniary fine instead of death, and exhort the relations to accede to the proposal; but they cannot compel compliance. The usual fine assessed upon the



homicide is two hundred and fifty *talaris*. When one takes the life of his own kindred, he is subject to no penalty, the horror of the unnatural crime being regarded as sufficient to restrain from its commission. In no case, however, do the Abyssinians appear very strenuous to bring the delinquent to justice, never crossing the Tazazze from either side, to punish the murderer. When the relatives of the individual who has fallen by the hand of the assassin are not known, the priests become in some sense the avengers of blood; and close the doors of Christian communion against him, until he shall have paid the price of his delinquency; that is to say, two hundred and fifty *talaris*, into the coffers of the church.

Formerly, all suits of great importance were brought before the emperor, who presided over the trial in concert with twelve *Leecs*.\* This court alone had the right to decide in all criminal matters. At present, however, they retain but little of their former power, excepting the title and the privilege of judging in certain specified cases, and these only at Gondar.

In the time of Bruce, the emperors enjoyed a small measure of authority, and even as late as the visit of Salt, they continued to maintain some appearance of imperial dignity; but since the death of Googsa, which occurred about ten years ago, they have been stripped of every appendage of royalty except the name; and long ere this, would have been rifled of this remaining shadow, had not the governors felt the necessity of suffering them to retain it, in order to pave the way for their assuming the office of *Ras*, which can be legally done only by placing a new king on the throne.

Gooaloo was the reigning prince of the country in the time of Salt. After a reign of seventeen years, he resigned his dominions to Joas, who continued to guide the wheels of government for the four following years. The Dejasmat of Samen, Heila Mariam, then succeeded in placing Beda Mariam on the throne; but in three or four days his fortune changed, and Guigar assumed the crown, and bore, for the eight succeeding years, the title of emperor. But after the death of Mariam, Guigar was hurled from his throne, and another Joas was clothed with regal power. He was permitted, however, to enjoy his supremacy but a single year, at the expiration of

\* *Leecs*, in the plural *Leecaouente*, means literally *learned* or *great*. The *Leecs* composed a kind of ministry. They were chosen and dismissed by the emperor, who, in turn, could condemn no one to death without their consent.



which, he was compelled to yield it to Guebra Christos, who, if we may believe report, was destroyed by poison given him by the instrumentality of the aged king, Guigar.

The imprisonment of the male members of the royal family, a detailed account of which has been given by Bruce, is a measure of security not at present regarded as necessary. Members of this family are everywhere dispersed throughout the different provinces, and are sustained in part by the liberal presents received from the higher orders, and in part by the fruits of their own prudence and toil. They are generally the favorites of the people, and live pleasantly among them; but although they are so much beloved, there are seldom any popular combinations in their favor. Most of the inhabitants are so degraded in their characters, so crushed in their circumstances, that they seem incapable of forming any very expansive ideas of liberty; and the only desire which they cherish in regard to the future condition of the government, is, to see the royal family restored to the peaceful possession of their throne, and all Abyssinia rejoicing in its light.

The most celebrated of those who have exercised the office of Ras in the interior since the time of Salt, are the Ras Googsa, who was distinguished for his justice and peaceable disposition, and his three sons; Eeman, beloved like his father by the whole nation, and who administered the government for three years; Mariam, who governed for the same length of time, but, with the exception of the army, was universally detested; and Dori, whose career was short, wearing the robes of office but three months. The grandson of Googsa, by a daughter, enjoys, at the present time, the title and dignity of Ras Ali, and governs the country to the general satisfaction of the people. The Dejasmat Maroo, son-in-law to Googsa, administered, for some time, the government of the three provinces, Dembea, Kouara, and Agow, with mingled justice and cruelty; but his only son, since his decease, has not been able to succeed to the office of his father, because the Rases of the family of Googsa had previously ceded the governments of Dembea and Kouara to their nephew, the Dejasmat Comfou, whom I had the happiness of seeing at Gondar.

Ras Gabriel was governing the mountainous district of Samen in the time of Salt. His son and successor, Hula Mariam, is still remembered and deeply lamented throughout Abyssinia, especially by

those who enjoyed the benign influences of his government. Nearly seven years have now elapsed since his death, and his son Oubea has succeeded to the office of his father, and maintains the subjugation of the province of Walcaït, which his father had annexed to his dominions.

For about forty years past, the people inhabiting the region beyond the Tacazze, have been troubled with few internal broils, and the country has not materially suffered, excepting during the three years of Mariam's administration. Tigre, on the contrary, ever since the death of Ras Walda Selasse, which took place in 1815 or 1816, has presented, with the exception of seven or eight years during the government of Sebagadis, one uninterrupted scene of conflict and confusion. Such, at the present time, is the fever of excitement, the disorder and tumult raging throughout Abyssinia, that I doubt the possibility of any one's writing a correct and detailed history of the various commotions which the country has recently experienced. I can assure the reader, however, that I have personally witnessed a great proportion of the facts recorded in my Journal; and those which have been transmitted to me through the agency of others, I have never inserted, without first convincing myself of their probability, and indeed of their correctness.

The secluded vales of Shoa have never experienced those hard-fought strifes and bitter contentions, which have latterly embroiled the rest of Abyssinia. The present king, Sehla Selasse, now in the thirty-fourth year of his age, has already held the reins of government nearly eighteen years, to the universal acceptance of the people. The crown has descended in the line of his family for seven successive generations. Recently, the flame of conquest has been kindled in his bosom; he has very much extended the limits of his kingdom, especially to the south and west. The ferocious hordes of Gallas, who were hovering about the borders of his dominions, have felt the weight of his conquering arm; several provinces of these uncivilized people having submitted to his authority, most of which have been induced to embrace the Christianity of Abyssinia. But the character of this otherwise respected prince suffers from the fact, that he is said to have no less than five hundred concubines, the greater part of whom are Galla slaves.

## RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY.

In passing from the political state of Abyssinia, to an examination of the religious opinions of the inhabitants, we shall find them divided into three grand divisions, Christians, Mohammedans, and Jews ; to which may be added the two peculiar people, called the Camountes and Zalanés.

## THE CHRISTIANS.

Although Christianity in Abyssinia has sadly fallen from the high eminence to which its dignified nature and glorious destiny aspire, some slight traces of its excellence still remain stamped on the character of the inhabitants ; which, notwithstanding all the deteriorating circumstances that have contributed to their fall, and are still exerting their corrupting influence, must strongly attract our interested regards, and lead us to cherish them as Christian brethren, though as brethren who have grievously wandered from our common Father, and are now reaping the bitter fruits of their errors, in political confusion and mental degradation. We feel constrained, indeed, notwithstanding the mass of moral pollution now pressing upon the very vitals of the people, to congratulate them for that purifying spark of the Christian religion, which still feebly glows on their crumbling altars, and which, amid a variety of chilling circumstances, has continued to gleam from their mountain-tops, as a beacon of happier times, and of their upward destiny ; for it is this alone, to which must be attributed all those honorable and praiseworthy traits, still adorning their characters, and rendering them so vastly superior to the inhabitants of the rest of the African continent ; not excepting even the far-famed people of wretched Egypt.

It must be considered a favorable circumstance in regard to the religious condition and religious prospects of the Abyssinians, that they have uninterruptedly enjoyed the government of Christian princes ; for as this is a fact which the Mohammedans themselves acknowledge, it is in the religious principles of the chiefs of the nation, that the germs of regeneration in this degraded country are to be found. The way, therefore, to elevate the moral and political condition of this people, is, in some respects, open. It will not be necessary first to disorganize, and thus demoralize, to tear down,

and remove the rubbish of ages, before erecting the temple of knowledge and virtue, as it has sometimes been thought would be requisite, in order to effect the moral renovation of the Turkish empire. Not that the Abyssinians are far advanced either in Christianity or morals; the reverse is lamentably true. Indeed, such is their degeneracy, that it would be undoubtedly far easier to eradicate from their breasts every particle of religious principle, than to rekindle there the pure flame of Christian philanthropy; as it is always far less difficult to influence man to the perpetration of vice, than to turn the current of his natural corruptions, and engage him to virtue. Nevertheless, when one feels within him the stirrings of that benevolent spirit, which will induce him to forsake his kindred and his home, and devote himself to the toils of resuscitating vital Christianity in the Abyssinian church, coupled with the conviction, that it is the duty of every Christian to put forth his efforts to make known to the nations the glorious Gospel of Christ, he need not feel that the work is impossible, nor allow himself to be disheartened by the dark appearances which may sometimes lower in his horizon, but can only terrify the timid, or discourage the unbelieving.

The Christians in Abyssinia are now divided into three parties; and so violent are their mutual animosities, that they respectively imprecate the worst of evils upon their opponents, and will not, if possible, have anything to do with them. It is only a single subtlety in theology from which all this discussion flows; but I have dwelt so particularly upon it in my Journal, that I deem it sufficient in this place barely to refer to it. It relates to the endless dispute concerning the person of Jesus Christ.

Some maintain that when the Scriptures declare that our Saviour was anointed with the Holy Spirit, the simple meaning is, that the Divinity is personally united to the humanity of Christ; and, in all those passages in the Bible, where our Lord is represented as receiving the Holy Spirit, the name Holy Spirit only signifies the Deity of Christ; for, say they, the Saviour could have stood in no need of receiving what he always possessed. Their manner of expressing themselves, is, that Jesus Christ *has* anointed, *has been* anointed, and *is* himself the unction. The supporters of this opinion carry on the controversy with the greatest obstinacy and bitterness. They are most prevalent in Tigre, where their peculiar tenets were espoused and defended by the last Coptic Abuna.



Others maintain, that when it is said our Saviour was anointed, it only signifies that the Holy Spirit wrought a union between the Divinity and humanity of Christ. The favorers of this doctrine are found chiefly in the provinces of Gojam and Lasta.

A third opinion, and one that extensively prevails throughout all the other provinces of Abyssinia, including even the retired kingdom of Shoa, is, that the man Christ Jesus, although united to the Deity from the moment of his immaculate conception, has received, in his humanity, the Holy Spirit in the same manner in which we receive it; that is to say, as a gift from the Father, thus qualifying him, as man, to accomplish the glorious work of our redemption. Hence they conclude, that since Christ has received the Spirit in the same manner as we receive it, his anointing may with propriety be termed a third birth. As a party, they profess great liberality towards those who differ from them; and I have heard since leaving Gondar, that several of the most learned of the sect have renounced the opinion that the anointing of Jesus Christ may be properly called a birth.

It appears on examination, that all these discrepancies of opinion flow entirely from the different points of view, which the Abyssinians take of the question relative to the two natures of Christ; for, in reality, they are all Monophysites, are all groping their way under the same cloud, embrace essentially the same errors, and entertain essentially the same superstitions. Their belief concerning the Holy Spirit accords with that entertained by most other sects in the Levant, maintaining that it proceeds only from the Father.

The Abyssinians believe in infant baptism; but they defer the administration of the rite to their sons, until the fortieth day after their birth, and to their daughters until the eightieth, excepting in cases of dangerous illness. They find authority for this practice, as they affirm, in the mode of procedure manifested by the Creator towards our first parents. They believe that Adam did not receive the Holy Ghost, and was not admitted into the garden of Eden till the fortieth day after he had breathed the breath of life, and that eighty days intervened between the creation of Eve, and her enjoyment of the same privileges. But I think that the usage finds its origin in the Mosaic law, which declare that a woman shall be considered unclean for forty days subsequent to the birth of a son, and eighty days succeeding the birth of a daughter. The Abyssinians, however, as they are strongly attached to the idea that infants re-



ceive the Holy Spirit at the time of baptism, choose rather to refer to the Divine conduct towards Adam as the foundation of their belief, and the origin of their practice, than to the Jewish law concerning the purification of Hebrew mothers.

They place little confidence in the ceremony of water baptism, unless the water contains a proportion of *merom*, a substance which is also used on the same occasion by the Greek church. I cannot precisely recollect the ingredients of which it is composed; but what renders it peculiarly efficacious, are a few drops of the Saviour's blood, which have been miraculously preserved. The baptism of an infant forms a kind of era in its existence; it is clothed in different attire, a ribbon of blue silk is bound about its neck, as a sign that it has entered the pale of the church; and they then administer to it the elements of the Lord's Supper. The priests usually partake of the communion every day in the year; the laity either on the sabbath, or only from time to time, as inclination dictates. The break of day is ordinarily the hour of celebrating the sacrament, though in the time of fast, it is common to delay till three o'clock in the afternoon; and even those who are conscientious enough to abstain from food, but neglect the duty of communion, usually wait till the close of this significant ceremony, before they partake of their ordinary repast.

In order to the administration of the Lord's Supper according to the rules of the Abyssinian church, it is necessary that five deacons should be present on the occasion. Besides the priests, however, there are seldom few but old men and children who are disposed to partake of the consecrated emblems; thus manifesting the great disrespect in which the ordinance is held by those in the prime of life, as well as the general irregularity and carelessness with which it is observed.

The service, at the celebration of the holy supper, consists in reading a few chapters from the Gospels, and in singing a few hymns in the ancient language of the country. The consecration of the bread and wine is called *Melawat*, "a change;" although I never saw any one at Gondar who professed to believe in transubstantiation. But in Tigre, the doctrine is almost universally admitted; and when any one inquires how the wicked or unbelieving can receive Jesus Christ, it is replied, that he does not, that an angel comes and separates our Lord from the emblems at the mo-

ment they are entering the mouth of the receiver; and the bread and wine instantly resume their simple qualities of ordinary nourishment. With respect to the preparation of the bread that is used at the sacramental table, they are extremely superstitious and exact; no woman may touch it; it must be made and broken alone by the hands of men. The wine is composed of the juice of dried grapes mingled with water.

There are numerous circumstances in which one may be placed, and various crimes of which he may be guilty, that render him unworthy, according to the rules of the church, of receiving the sacramental ordinance; though one of the most prevalent grounds of unworthiness is the want of connubial fidelity.

The marriage ceremony is exceedingly simple. The parties betrothed, after having given and received mutual pledges, prepare a sumptuous banquet, and invite a number of friends and relatives, together with a priest, to partake of their hospitality. When the repast is over, the plighted pair present themselves before the priest, and he receives their reciprocal promise of constancy and affection; after which he wishes them prosperity and happiness in the connubial relation, and the marriage ceremony is closed. But this knot is as easily untied as tied. Whenever either the husband or wife becomes dissatisfied with the other, they both present themselves before a priest or judge, and mutually repudiate each other. If they have several children, they are shared between them; but if they have but one, it belongs to the mother when under seven years of age; if farther advanced, it is claimed by the father. This licentiousness of conduct, however, is not left entirely without curb or restraint. After a third divorce, the Abyssinians can neither contract a regular marriage, nor are they allowed to partake of the symbols of the sacramental supper, unless they consent to embrace the life, and perform the duties of monks. When, therefore, a man has divorced his third wife, and afterwards becomes desirous of leading a more virtuous and regular life, for the sake of participating in the privileges of the holy communion, he consummates, if possible, a reconciliation with some one of his former wives; and thus it not unfrequently occurs, that after having been separated for more than twenty years, and both parties having been joined in the marriage covenant with two other individuals, the first pair reunite their destiny, and live together for the remnant of their days.

When the Abyssinian perceives his end approaching, he easily makes up his account for an irreligious life ; nothing more being required than to call a priest of the church, who listens to his confession, and grants him absolution. Numbers have told me, and even priests themselves, that they had been guilty of the most flagrant vices, though they had never confessed them, from fear of the penance which they knew would be imposed upon them ; and had therefore reserved the confession of such heaven-daring crimes for the *final hour*. The priest never refuses to the dying the privileges of full absolution ; and should the latter be desirous of engaging some one to observe a fast in his behalf, and offer money as compensation for the task, the priest readily accepts the proffered reward, and promises to carry into effect, either in person, or by the agency of others, the wishes of the dying man. Hence the priest frequently imposes a fast on the whole family of the deceased ; and I have been personally acquainted with a young woman, whom the priest had required to fast for seven successive years, merely because her father had died suddenly without confessing his sins ; and, for two years, she had continued to observe the rigorous injunction.

As soon as the Abyssinian breathes his last, he is interred. The priests accompany the procession to the grave, to offer prayers and pronounce absolution, the number of whom is always in proportion to the wealth of the deceased ; though they often perform the duty, without expecting to receive any farther compensation than the luxury of feasting to satiety. Sumptuous feasts being usually prepared on funeral occasions, the father-confessor to the deceased calculates largely upon the table of the widow. Even for some time after the occurrence, the relatives continue to keep an exact account of the days as they pass, and, at certain intervals, prepare banquets, and invite the priests to eat and drink, to repeat psalms and to pronounce absolution again over the departed. On all such occasions, it is common for one or more oxen to be slain, according to the fortune of the mourning friends ; it being a kind of religious sacrifice.

The Abyssinians do not believe in a separate purgatory, though they generally maintain that almost all go directly to hell at the moment of death ; and that the archangel Michael descends from time to time to the place of torments, to unlock the chains of the lost, and introduce them to the blessedness of Paradise. Some are delivered for the good works which they performed on earth ; others

on account of the prayers and meritorious efforts of surviving friends, or the prevailing intercessions of priests. They are in the habit of reciting numerous fables in confirmation of their superstitious notion. The most common is the story of a man, whose sojourn on earth had been a scene of almost uninterrupted violence and crime, but who had perseveringly observed the stated fasts of Wednesdays and Fridays. He at length closed his iniquitous career, and immediately descended to the prison of woe. But he was not left to traverse this dark abode in total obscurity. Two brilliant lights attended him, floating on either side wherever he went, and, by their assistance, he was enabled eventually to reach the gate separating these fearful regions from the abodes of the blest. Here the archangel Michael speedily met him, and introduced him to the golden fields of Paradise, informing him that the two lights which had been his unfailing attendants in the world of darkness, were the fasts of Wednesdays and Fridays, of which, while an inhabitant of earth, he had been a constant and scrupulous observer.

The Abyssinians regard fasting as the essence of religion. Their fasts are therefore numerous, long, and rigorous. The number of days consecrated to this object is equivalent to nine months of the year; though there are comparatively few monks, so uniformly exact in their conduct, or so devoted in their feelings, as to observe them all. There are some however, such as the protracted fast of fifty-six days preceding Easter, the one of sixteen days, celebrated in the month of August, in commemoration of the apparent death and ascension of the Virgin Mary, and the regular fasts of Wednesdays and Fridays, that are regarded as indispensable. The fast of forty days immediately preceding Christmas, is likewise generally observed in the interior of the country, though but rarely in the province of Tigre. Besides all these, there is scarcely a confession made, which the priest does not require to be followed by a fast more or less protracted, although the privilege of neglecting it may be easily purchased with money. I became acquainted with a man, who, after having committed some flagrant crime, had retired to the monastery of Waldeba, as a place of security from the arm of the civil law. The priests of the institution imposed upon him a fast of a year's continuance, with the additional requisition of repeating the whole of the Psalms two hundred times during the same period. Our delinquent, however, felt little inclined to under-



go the privations necessarily attending the rigors of so long a fast, and therefore proposed to purchase his freedom from the imposition, by the payment of a suitable compensation ; a proposal which was readily accepted. But as the man did not choose to pay the price of his acquittal without receiving any benefit in return, the priests procured fifty boys to perform the duties of fasting, and repeating the Psalms the requisite number of times in his presence. The more intelligent and better disposed portions of society, however, severely censure the priests for such iniquitous proceedings.

The fast of the Abyssinians consists in abstaining from every species of animal food, with the exception of fish ; and in taking no kind of beverage, not even water, till three o'clock in the afternoon, save on Saturdays and Sundays, when they are allowed to eat and drink after eight o'clock in the morning.

The ordination of a priest is a very trifling matter. He is considered as amply qualified for the duties of the sacred office, if he has acquired a knowledge of the alphabet, and can repeat a few prayers ; and is supposed to have done all that is required of him, when he has paid to the interpreter of the Abuna, or Coptic bishop, two pieces of salt to procure the imposition of hands. This comprises the whole ceremony ; it is neither preceded by any examination of the character or motives of the applicant, nor followed by any exhortation to correct deportment or Christian feeling. The better informed part of the Abyssinians, therefore, consider it disgraceful to officiate in the capacity of a priest, and consequently have no disposition to be thus employed. There are, indeed, exceptions to this remark ; I only speak of the predominant feeling.

Various charges have been preferred against the character of Kerglos, the last Coptic bishop. The reports of his friends and enemies are extremely contradictory ; and such is the discrepancy between them, that it is utterly impossible to arrive at any degree of certainty concerning the real extent and precise nature of his delinquency. All that can be relied on, is, that he murdered one of his slaves with a blow of his cane, which he inflicted as a chastisement for a slight offence. Perhaps it is owing to his misconduct, that there has been no Abuna in the country for nearly three years.

The priests are allowed to marry previous to receiving the rite of ordination ; subsequent to that transaction, they are forbidden to form any matrimonial engagement. Should a priest, however, even



in face of his consecration vows, enter the married state, all the punishment to which he would be exposed, would be some slight reprimand, or trifling mark of disgrace from his superior, accompanied perhaps with a prohibition longer to perform the duties of his sacred office. The officiating deacons generally are mere children, or very young men, because the Abyssinians, as they grow in years, plunge into all those irregularities of conduct, which render them unworthy the office. There is no public preaching of the Gospel in the churches of Abyssinia.

Numerous customs and ceremonies belonging to the Jewish ritual are still preserved in Abyssinia. The rite of circumcision is almost universally practised upon both sexes. The operation is usually performed during the first week after birth, though some parents do not circumcise their sons at all. The Abyssinians may be said to abstain generally from every kind of food prohibited in the Mosaic law, though some make use of the wild boar as an article of diet, pretending that it possesses certain medicinal qualities.

The rite of sacrifice is also common in Abyssinia. One of these ceremonies, which is considered propitiatory, is called *Beza*, or Redemption. It is particularly appropriated to the benefit of the sick. It consists in causing an animal, designed to represent the diseased individual, to make several turns around the bed of the sufferer, and afterwards taking its life. Sometimes they take an egg, and after turning it three times around the head of the patient, break it before his bed.

All the churches in Abyssinia are furnished with a kind of ark or chest, for which the people entertain the highest veneration. Indeed, they literally adore it; and it is its presence that constitutes the peculiar sanctity, which, in the view of these superstitious worshippers, always encompasses their sacred edifices, and inspires within them that deep feeling of solemnity and awe, which induces them to cry out like the Jews of old, "The Temple of the Lord! The Temple of the Lord! The Temple of the Lord are these!"

When they are interrogated respecting circumcision and fast, they usually reply in regard to the first, that they consider it barely a matter of ceremony; and that with respect to the last, they abstain from the different kinds of food forbidden in the Mosaic law, simply because they have no relish for them. But I have frequently observed, that when attacked on these and kindred points in their re-

ligious system, they defend them with a warmth which indicates that they regard them as matters of vital importance ; and a priest seldom fails to impose a fast or penance on any individual, who may have the temerity to partake of the flesh of the wild boar or hare, even under the pretext of disease.

The spirit of idolatry, which at all times, and in all places, is congenial to the heart of the natural man, has made but too much progress among the Abyssinians. It is true, they endeavor to prove, by a thousand subtle and sophistical arguments, that they neither reverence nor adore the images themselves, that they only intend to honor the saint, on whose image their eyes are, for the time, fixed ; and that the honor thus paid is nothing more than a mere natural mode of doing service or homage to God. They readily acknowledge, however, that the more degraded and less intelligent classes of community are liable, and, indeed, often do actually render their adoration to the images themselves ; but I never found one who was willing to acknowledge himself an idolater. They believe that each saint has a peculiar sphere of action appropriated to himself, in which he is delegated to render assistance to his earthly votaries. Consequently, they do not universally offer their orisons to a particular patron ; but, guided by the time and occasion, always select those who are capable of rendering them that assistance, which, at the peculiar juncture, they are desirous of obtaining. They affirm, however, in common with the Papists, that it is not of the saints that they supplicate assistance ; they only entreat them to act as intercessors between themselves and an offended Deity.

I never understood, in its full extent, the moral influence which this kind of idolatry necessarily exerts upon the tastes and feelings of its votaries, till I witnessed its baneful effects in this unhappy country. For instance, the man who selects St. Michael, or St. George, for his particular patron, constantly seeing them represented, the one with his sword, and the other upon his war-horse, armed cap-a-pie, and fully prepared to execute the vengeance of heaven, can scarcely fail of cultivating a warlike and vindictive temper ; and if a woman makes the like selection, she is liable to become the special admirer of the soldier's life, and the soldier's spirit. While the man of a libidinous temperament and groveling feelings, almost universally will choose the Virgin Mary as the particular object of his adorations, because she is always represented

under the form of a blooming girl, an image every way fitted to arouse the baser passions of his nature.

Idolatry, indeed, saps the very foundation of all true morality. It has often struck me that an Abyssinian appears far more troubled at the thought of offending one of the canonical saints, than of incurring the wrath of the infinite Jehovah. I have sometimes observed one making reiterated requests of a friend or neighbor, and entreating him in the name of God to bestow upon him some favor, or render him some service, without the least effect. But as soon as he began to press his suit in the name of a departed saint, the person addressed would immediately reply, and frequently with an indignant flush upon his cheek, that of course he must now grant the favor sought, as he dared not refuse, lest he should incur the vengeance of the saint, in whose name the request had been preferred. Thus at the monastery of Debra Damot, one can seldom obtain a favor from the monks, without presenting his petitions in the name of Abuna Aragowi, the patron of the house. Clouds of thick darkness are, indeed, everywhere settled down over this benighted country. I have often heard the more besotted and less educated classes call St. Michael, God, and the Virgin Mary, Creatress of the world. But such gross instances of error are rare.

After surveying this dark picture of errors and superstitions, now extensively prevalent and deeply rooted in the Abyssinian church, it is reasonable to conclude, (as indeed my own experience has convinced me,) that her adherents have no correct ideas of the fundamental and saving doctrines of the Gospel—those doctrines so essential to be interwoven in every system of religious belief;—such as the justification of the sinner by faith alone—the work of divine grace on the heart—the re-creating and sanctifying influences of the Holy Spirit, as exerted on the dispositions and affections of God's children—and other kindred doctrines of the cross. But errors in principle will not long remain concealed beneath the ground; they are secret fountains of moral activity, which will ferment and swell, and sooner or later break forth, and run through every channel of life. Thus we find the erroneous principles, so rife in Abyssinia, are strongly reflected in the customs of the people, as well as in the extreme corruptions of their morals.

## MORALS.

THIS amazing ignorance concerning the fundamental truths of religion is not, however, the only source of degeneracy in morals and manners, so chilling to behold, and so widely spread throughout Abyssinia. The ordinary mode of life which characterizes this unsettled people is another deep source of moral putrefaction. Even the princes, or subordinate governors, seem to delight in roaming over their respective dominions; never remaining long in one place, not even in a time of the profoundest peace. They sometimes dwell in one extremity of the province over which they preside, and sometimes in the other; now here, and now there, as fancy or circumstances prescribe, always surrounded by a numerous train of officers and attendants. They commonly compel their wives to remain in the houses originally assigned the mon assuming the marriage relation; and finding themselves lonely and unhappy while thus separated from their companions, not unfrequently plunge into the crime of concubinage. At first, they content themselves with a single concubine; but when the first step has been taken in the downward way, becoming emboldened in sin, they soon select others, yielding themselves up to the dictates of ungoverned passions; and thus blunting the edge of all those tender sentiments and sympathizing feelings, which powerfully strengthen the bonds, and add a charm to the duties of wedded life. Their officers and attendants are often in the same situation, and eagerly copy the criminal example of their superiors. In this manner, a great number of women are often found attached to a single individual, for whom he cherishes none of those kind sympathies or grateful affections, which cement, and render sacred, the matrimonial union, and consequently, at the slightest bidding of caprice, he is disposed to sever the feeble ties which bound them together. These forsaken females, chagrined, perhaps, by disappointment, and soured by ill-treatment, seek their revenge in ensnaring the youth of the nation in the toils of vice; and thus corruption pours its destructive virus through every vein of society.

I have been informed, that beyond the Tacazze, there are but few couples who have lived together a dozen years, without violating their marriage vows. But this deadly pollution is chiefly concealed behind the scene; in the presence of others, they evince a



considerable share of modesty and propriety of deportment; far more than one would expect after reading Mr. Bruce's description of an Abyssinian festival. I cannot, however, avoid feeling some degree of uncertainty concerning the accuracy of this account. I can easily believe, indeed, that such a repast might have taken place in a company of shameless libertines; though I am confident one will seldom meet in Abyssinia, with parallel excesses of indecency and cruelty.

I have sometimes overheard conversations of a very improper and, indeed, debasing character; but I have never witnessed so much lewdness, or indecency of conduct in the capital of Abyssinia, as is sometimes witnessed in those of Egypt, France, or England. I do not say this with a view of justifying the Abyssinians; I mean simply to affirm, that looking merely on the face of society, without attempting to search out the haunts of vice, one will not be particularly struck with the licentiousness of Abyssinia, as contrasted with that exhibited in the different countries of Europe. In the province of Tigre, with the exception of the cities of Adowah and Antalo, the females are much more reserved in their deportment, and retiring in their habits, than in the interior sections of the country. The consequences of this vice are far-spreading and deplorable. Idleness, with its uniform attendants, poverty and a disposition to live in respectability without effort or forethought, on the resources of others, almost inevitably follow in its train. It has thus wrought in Abyssinia, and besides working out this train of evils, it has penetrated every pore of society, and given birth to envy and hatred, cunning and falsehood. Indeed, the Abyssinians, as a people, are no less addicted to deceit and lying than the Arabs, though when detected, they manifest a feeling of shame, which the latter never appear to experience.

Another train of vices which may be regarded as resulting from conjugal impurity and illicit connections, (for thus I name the polygamy of the Abyssinians, because they very well know the practice is unlawful,) flows from the fact, that children having the same father, but a different mother, are almost universally so utterly at variance among themselves, that they cannot peaceably endure the company, or even the sight of each other. They are also destitute of all sentiments of filial affection for their father, who, in turn, seems equally estranged from his offspring, apparently cherishing



for them none of those kind feelings and parental attachments, which nature dictates, unless we except, perhaps, for the children of his favorite wife. This picture is, indeed, sufficiently dark; I will not, therefore, deepen the shades by speaking of the jealousies, heart-burnings, and all the bitter consequences occasioned by this polluting practice of violating connubial ties, except barely mentioning that the adulterer not unfrequently becomes the slaughtered victim of the enraged man he has injured. This looseness and irregularity of conduct between the sexes is observable in every period of life; one can scarcely say, that the Abyssinians are ever *constant*, save in their course of continued *inconstancy*. It must be said, however, in favor of the children, and those in the early stage of youth, that they are less remarkable for levity of conduct and frivolity of character, than those of similar ages in other countries.

But it is useless to enumerate the vices and crimes, which so deeply shade the character of the Abyssinians; if they are more immoral, if they are guilty of grosser sins than Europeans, it must be attributed in a great measure to the circumstances in which they are placed; especially to the thick veil of ignorance which is brooding over them. Let it be remembered, that the heart of the natural man is the same in every age and in every country; "it is enmity against God; it is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be."

It gives me pleasure to say, however, that the Abyssinians evince some very estimable traits of character, and those too which are rarely found even in Christian countries; but they are few in number, and sparkle only here and there like glittering pearls, amid the moral ruins, spreading wide around them. The traveler, for instance, will seldom have occasion to seek a house of entertainment, where he can rest for the night. When he arrives at a village near night-fall, the first individual he meets will usually bid him welcome, and press him to take lodgings at his house. Here he will find himself perfectly at ease, and enjoying all the privileges of home, confident that his host will not touch an article in his portmanteau, though he knows it laden with gold. Nor is the traveler, in turn, inclined to trouble or incommode his host, uniformly making use of his own provision, unless pressed to participate in the bounties of the family which entertains him. I do not, however, here speak of the vil-

lages on the routes frequently traversed by caravans ; for they soon lose their cordiality for the stranger, and learn to put on an appearance of coldness and reserve.

Formerly, the Abyssinians highly respected, and were quite attached to white men residing among them ; and the same sentiments are still cherished in the interior districts. But in the province of Tigre, they are generally despised ; at least, the people manifest very little respect for them, unless they imagine they may, by some means, be made instrumental in promoting their pleasure or advantage. This arises from the fact, that having become more or less acquainted with Europeans, they have enjoyed too many occasions of understanding their real character, and of observing that they are not superior to themselves in moral excellence, especially when surrounded by similar influences. I have never failed, however, even in Tigre, of securing suitable accommodations in any place where night overtook me ; and often the people of the village where we stopped have shared with me and my attendants the very best of their provisions.

I have elsewhere observed that the Abyssinians are peculiarly addicted to thieving. This however is not strictly true, except in times of anarchy and general insubordination, when every provincial governor not only aspires to independence, but also to sway dominion over the neighboring chiefs. But to accomplish this, funds must be raised ; and these can be obtained, only by giving full liberty to his subjects to plunder the wayfarer and stranger, and, if possible, extend their depredations into adjacent districts. This kind of pillage they regard as a right of war ; and in this sense, almost all the people of the country may be called robbers ; but when a governor or Dejasmat stands at the head of affairs, and the functions of the government are in a healthy state, such irregular proceedings are unknown.

Many, indeed, seem disposed to overreach in affairs of trade ; though in consequence of the severe laws which have been enacted concerning theft, and the general voice of ignominy which public opinion has raised against it, very few offences of the kind are known ; and when they do occur, it is ordinarily very easy to discover the pilfered articles. At one time, for instance, when I was in the camp of Walda Michael, complaint was made that property had been stolen, though it was not known by whom the crime had

been committed. A priest was instantly summoned to anathematize the thief; but in about fifteen minutes after the order was issued, the culprit, without making himself known, restored the rifled property. In this manner, almost all cases of theft may be easily detected, and the purloined goods recovered. But in case the property is returned, no effort is made to detect the pilferer, lest the dread of punishment would counterbalance the fear of the anathema, and the menace of the church thus be rendered nugatory.

Servants are generally more faithful in this country than in Europe. A man-servant, although a robber by profession, is seldom found guilty of purloining from the house in which he is employed; and in the very rare instances in which such unfaithfulness does occur, the delinquent contrives to escape forever from the presence of his master. The female servants, however, are sometimes known to pilfer articles of food which lie in their way. But great pains are taken to prevent this vice; no crime indeed among the children is punished so severely as that of theft. I have known a mother, of mild and affectionate disposition, who was ordinarily very gentle in correction, and possessed of such quick and tender sensibilities that she would not willingly see the vilest insect crushed,—such a *mother* I have known to burn almost to a crisp the skin on both the hands, and even the lips of her daughter only nine years of age, because she had secretly dipped her fingers into a pot of honey.

Though I have heard of some acts of cruelty, the Abyssinians cannot be regarded as a cruel people, especially in the interior of the country. Even during the ravages of war, they are rarely disposed to slay an enemy, when he can be taken prisoner; and when they see the scale of victory rising in their favor, they are far more inclined to spare their foes who are still defending themselves with resolution and bravery, than to wreak their vengeance in unmerciful butchery. They sometimes, however, manifest a savage disposition towards the wounded of the opposing party, not unfrequently leaving them miserably to languish and perish alone, with no one to commiserate or soothe them in the expiring conflict, when, with a little care, their lives might be saved. It is even said, that when their wounded prisoners, weakened by the loss of blood, and exhausted by suffering, feel unable longer to prolong their march, the brutal soldiery sometimes mutilate still more their already

mangled limbs, to hasten their death. But such a procedure must be considered an exception to the common usage; for most with whom I became acquainted, and to whom I mentioned the subject, evinced the strongest detestation of such barbarous conduct.

In the treatment of their domestic animals, they are not generally unkind, and I can scarcely persuade myself that the account of Mr. Bruce concerning their cruelty towards them is correct. Whenever I have inquired whether it now is, or ever was, their custom to cut pieces of flesh from the bodies of living animals for the purposes of food, they have uniformly expressed the utmost horror and disgust at the suggestion. But as I am not an entire stranger to the gloomy forebodings and actual sufferings which cluster around the idea of famine, I can believe it possible for one to do all that imagination can conceive, or ingenuity devise, to procure that nourishment which the necessities of nature demand. If, however, such instances of cruelty as Mr. Bruce has related, ever did take place, they must be looked upon in the light of exceptions; as much so, indeed, as if they had occurred in any part of Europe. But whether this account be true or false, I know they are careful to inculcate upon the minds of the young, sentiments of benevolence towards brutes, quite the reverse of this. I have seen fathers and mothers punish their children with severity, merely for plucking feathers from a living fowl which they were about to kill.

The Abyssinians are remarkable for their charity to the poor. The motives by which they are actuated are not perhaps the purest; of these, however, it is not my province to judge; God alone knows the secrets of the heart. When at Gonda, in a time of scarcity, I was acquainted with those in easy circumstances, who maintained at their tables as many as fifty or sixty cripples, who were unable to support themselves. Indeed, as a general fact, the Abyssinians, especially when they have the ability to afford relief, are never guilty of sending the beggar away empty; and sometimes they are known to go even beyond their means, and actually suffer hunger, to indulge their generosity in sharing their pittance with those who are more miserable than themselves. In consequence of this amiable trait of character, in years when the earth yields her increase in rich profusion, few mendicants are seen strolling over the country, and craving the morsels of charity. The small number, however, who intrude upon the charity of the humane, well understand



the method of procuring the object of their suit ; uniformly presenting their request in the name of the particular saint of the day ; and as they have eighteen festival days every month, they frequently change the form of their invocations.

The Abyssinians are a sensitive people, and their passions are easily fomented to a storm ; but the gust speedily passes away, and they are as easily reconciled as they are enraged. In Tigre, they sometimes resort to blows in the heat of debate, but in the province of Amhara they seldom proceed to such unwarrantable lengths ; there, he who strikes his opponent is subject to a fine, half of which goes to the individual who suffers the infliction, unless he has resorted to the same means in settling the quarrel ; then, both fall alike under the penalty. You will sometimes see the Abyssinians taunting and reproaching each other with such acrimony of expression, that it would seem impossible for them ever again to be reconciled ; but the torrent of passion soon subsides, and sometimes in fifteen minutes they become apparently as good friends as before. Indeed, there are few, excepting subordinate governors, who, goaded by jealousy with regard to their equals, or envious of their superiors, continue, for any length of time, to harbor feelings of implacable resentment. Those in the higher walks of life are easily induced to forgive the crimes and misdeeds of their inferiors, when the latter sue for pardon at their hands.

Their process of reconciliation is somewhat peculiar ; and can only be accomplished through the intervention of a mediator. Sometimes one of the parties concerned in the difficulty engages a third person to perform the duty ; especially is this the case, when the quarrel to be settled exists between husband and wife. When the parties are prepared for reconciliation, one of them, usually the most culpable, places a stone upon his neck, and approaching the other, asks forgiveness of his offence. The other, saying to him, " May God forgive you," takes the stone and places it upon his own neck, in order, in his turn, to crave pardon of the former ; who, in granting him his request, retakes the stone, and restores it to its place. The master, however, seldom condescends to perform this last act of humiliation to his slave, thinking it sufficient in such a case, merely to take the stone from his neck and put it between his hands. They also assume the same mode of asking forgiveness of one whom they have offended, although there has been no open



rupture between them. At one time, two of my servants, after having vainly sought a lost sheep till ten o'clock at night, came to me creeping upon their hands and knees. Each bore upon his neck a stone of about eighty pounds' weight, and entreated me to beat them severely, as proof that I cordially forgave them, as a father pardons his erring children after having duly chastised them. The instance of forgiveness most rarely witnessed among the Abyssinians, is that between the relatives of a murdered man and his murderer. When no satisfactory agreement can be effected between the parties by the payment of a fine, the friends avail themselves of the same instruments or means to take the life of the culprit, which he employed in destroying their kinsman; so that if his death was occasioned by a blow, inflicted either by the hand or foot, they resort to the same means to end the life of the criminal.

#### MOHAMMEDANS.

Besides that portion of the community who call themselves Christians, and who comprise a great part of the population of Abyssinia, the country contains a large number of Mohammedans. They have apparently been on the increase since the time of Bruce, and in some places have become quite numerous. They are not, however, equally distributed throughout the several sections of the country, being found principally in Adowah and its environs; at Hawasa; and in the vicinity of Mount Taloca in the district of Samen, where the Jews formerly resided and maintained an independent government; at Directa in the province of Begameder; and at Gondar. They have little difficulty with the Christians, and live in considerable harmony with them; but in communities among themselves, they continually wear the mask of hypocrisy. Sometimes, indeed, they link themselves in friendship with those of their own religious opinions; but whenever they fall into circumstances, or engage in enterprises, requiring stability of friendship, they unite themselves with Christians. Nothing would give them greater dissatisfaction, than to see themselves placed under the dominion of Mohammedans; though they experience the greatest joy when one of their number is exalted to high dignities, or entrusted with important functions, in any other country. The Mohammedans sel-

dom exercise the government of extensive districts, though they are appointed chiefs of most of the custom-houses throughout the country, for the very obvious reason, that in consequence of the exorbitant exactions which their consciences allow them to make, they are enabled to bring the Dejasmat who employs them a far more lucrative revenue than the Christian custom-house officers, who are for the most part more scrupulous and exact in their conduct. Generally, the Mohammedans are more extensively engaged in trade and commercial concerns than the Christians; and consequently they belong to the more wealthy classes. The traffic in slaves is left almost exclusively to them; Christians seldom engaging in this iniquitous merchandise of flesh and blood. Little can be said with confidence concerning their religious opinions, because there are very few who have acquired any competent knowledge of the Koran; and provided they know enough to supply their Focaras or Sheiks with a sufficiency of food and clothing, the latter take very little pains to instruct them in anything farther. The greater part of them are acquainted with only a few passages of the Koran, which they find convenient to use, either as weapons of self-defence, or in condemning others, being excessively fond of maintaining their own doctrines, and gaining proselytes to their religious creed. When the Mohammedan of Abyssinia sojourns in any foreign country, where Islamism is the prevailing religion, he learns to pray, and prays regularly five times a day; he becomes extremely austere and scrupulous in his devotions, and observes the fast of Ramadon far more strictly than the Arabs; but as soon as he returns to his native soil, his devotional spirit disappears, and he forgets his prayers and his fasts. The Mussulmans, like the Christians and Jews of Abyssinia, never eat the flesh of an animal which has not been slain by one of their own sect. Their manners are low, and their morals decidedly more degraded and corrupted than those of the Christians.

#### THE FALASHAS OR JEWS.

Besides the two principal sects of which I have spoken, there is also a small body of Falashas or Jews. Very little, however, is known of them. They live in a manner so retired, and have so

little intercourse with those who profess Christianity, that neither their religious dogmas nor their social customs are well understood by the latter. They occupy but a small portion of the Abyssinian territory, residing chiefly in the neighborhood of Gondar and Shelga; and in a narrow district to the north-west of Lake Tsama. I have made efforts to gain information of their condition and character, but with little success; having learned decidedly but one thing; and that is, that as a race, they are far more ignorant and besotted than the generality of Christians in the country. Whenever I have proposed to them any questions concerning their history, present condition, or doctrinal belief, they have invariably referred me to their learned men. They know not to what tribe they belong, and have no correct idea of the time when their fathers first settled in Abyssinia. Some suppose that they emigrated hither with Menilec, the son of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba; others maintain that they were not established in the country until after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans. The truth is, the whole subject is shrouded in the twilight of antiquity. Scarcely a wandering ray illumines the scene, unless the numerous fables or legends concerning the Queen of Sheba, which have floated down the current of tradition, and which are now eagerly propagated and treasured up, may be supposed to shed a feeble light. But even these traditions are too ridiculous to secure rational confidence; and although they are received with the same deference by the Christian as by the Jew, they are really unworthy of the least regard. The Falashas, in general, entertain the superstitions of the Christians around them, though such as are slightly tinged and moulded by the Jewish religion. They have some lingering notions of the promised Messiah; but I could never perceive that the idea awakened in their minds any strong or lively interest; and when I have questioned them in regard to his coming, they have replied with indifference, that he would probably appear in the character of a conqueror by the name of Theodoros, whose advent was supposed to be near; and which the Christians were not less anticipating than themselves. But when he comes, whether he will be a Christian or a Jew, is a point about which the poor Falashas have formed no definite opinion; though in regard to the person of Jesus Christ, they indulge the same intense hatred, which is felt by the Jews in every land.

In their intercourse among themselves, they use an idiom which is equally unlike the Hebrew and Ethiopic; though most of them, with the exception perhaps of a few females, are able to speak the language of Amhara with more or less ease and accuracy. I have never been able to find but a single book among them, written in their peculiar dialect; and this, as they told me, was a collection of prayers. Their ignorance is extreme; but deep and dark as it is, it cannot much surprise us, since they have no other books, excepting those written in the Ethiopic language—a language with which they are so little acquainted, that the information conveyed by it must remain veiled to their view. I have seen, however, a considerable number among them, who have acquired a tolerable knowledge of the five books of Moses. They read the Psalms, together with all these repetitions; “In the name of the Father, the Son,” &c., which the Christians have ventured to subjoin to them, as well as the songs of Mary and Simeon, which the same hands have added; but the Oudassè Meriam of Ephraim they reject.

They are much more industrious in their habits than the rest of the Abyssinians. They compose the architects of Gondar, and build most of the houses in that city. The Christians are never allowed to enter their dwellings; and the former, on the other hand, fearing the supernatural influences with which they believe the Falashas endowed, have no disposition to force an entrance. Indeed, the whole of this peculiar people, as well as all workers in iron, and many others, are regarded as boudas or sorcerers. A Falasha never re-enters his house after having conversed with a Christian, without previously washing his entire body, and changing every article of his clothing. They are also equally scrupulous in regard to cleansing their provisions; whatever is purchased in the market must be washed before using it in the family. For some reason, their intercourse with Mohammedans is much more free and unrestrained than with Christians. In general, they may be said to be a peaceable people, never bearing arms either in defensive or offensive war. They are benevolent to the poor among themselves, supplying their wants, and rarely suffering them to gain their subsistence by begging.



## THE CAMOUNTES.

As I have said above, the Christians, the Mohammedans, and the Jews, do not comprise the whole of the population of Abyssinia. Besides these, there are two other sects. One of these, which is called *Camounte*, is composed entirely of agriculturists, and inhabit the mountains in the vicinity of Gondar. The females, with perforated ears, weighed down with immense rings of brass, and resting upon their shoulders, chiefly furnish the market of this city with wood. I was unable to visit their village, finding no one willing to accompany me. I had the privilege, however, of seeing a few of them at my own residence; but never succeeded in gaining any definite information respecting either their religious practice or principles. I believe most of them are Deists, who, satisfied with the bare idea of God's existence, never trouble themselves as to the relation he may sustain, or the feelings he may cherish, towards the human family. The consequence is, their manners are left to the dictates of passion. Feeling no accountability to a higher power, like the Deists of Europe, they cannot be trusted. When questioned upon any subject, especially in respect to their religious faith, they answer in an evasive and jesting manner. They have, however, an order of priests, and assemble occasionally at private houses to partake of a common repast, which they call "Coban;" communion or eucharist. They use flesh as an article of food in common with Christians and Mussulmans, provided the animal is not slain on Saturday; but they never eat fish.

## THE ZALANES.

The other people to which I referred are called Zalanés. They are a wandering race, who roam with their flocks and herds over the rich, though uncultivated regions lying in the vicinity of Lake Dembea. I saw only three or four of them; but these were of a towering height, of a muscular frame, and robust appearance. It is said that they have some idea of a Divine Existence, but have no other notions of religion. They rarely fight except in self-defence, and then use large cudgels or battle-axes; which they wield with



such dexterity, that no one, though armed with sword and lance, is willing to attack them. They are said to indulge in sensual passions which degrade them to a level with the brutes; but I think this can be asserted of them only in particular cases, as sometimes occurs in Egypt.

From all that I can gather concerning this singular people, I am inclined to believe that their ancestors were originally connected with the Abyssinian church; but neglecting its forms of worship, and suffering the little genuine Christian spirit which they possessed to go out, they gradually sunk into the grossest ignorance. The ties that bound them to the mother church were soon forgotten, and they have fallen to the depths of their present degradation. This opinion, however, I am aware will not accord with that entertained by most of the Abyssinians.

### GENERAL CUSTOMS OF ABYSSINIA.

HAVING related these several particulars respecting the laws, religion, and morals of Abyssinia, it only remains, in order to finish the portraiture of this interesting people, briefly to detail a few of the customs generally prevalent among them.

Immediately after birth, the infant is taught to drink melted butter mingled with a little honey—a practice, which, according to Isa. viii. 15, appears to have been common among the ancient Jews. Indeed, in passing through this country, the traveler is repeatedly reminded of texts of scripture, which relate to the habits and usages of antiquity. As long as the child is allowed to draw its nourishment from the breast, it passes the night on the bosom of its mother, or of its nurse; for the females in the higher classes never perform the grateful task of nursing their own children. After the first month, the infant has no other cradle during the day than the back of its mother. She takes it by both its hands, and places it low between her shoulders; it soon learns to cling with its little feet around her sides, and to lay its little hands upon her shoulders, so as to sustain its weight. She secures it by passing a wide leathern strap around her waist, and another about her neck, which serve both to support, and partially cover the child.

From the age of six or seven years, the children are employed as

servants in their respective families. The boys are generally occupied as shepherds or herdsmen till fourteen or fifteen, under the care of their fathers, unless the latter are in straitened circumstances; in such cases, they are allowed to leave their parents at the age of eight or nine, and obtain support by tending the herds of others. The daughters are chiefly engaged in the various little duties of household economy; and while very young, almost as soon as they are able to walk steadily, begin the service of bringing water, which is sometimes at a considerable distance from the house; afterwards, when only eight or nine years of age, they are forced to go upon the mountains to gather wood for the use of the family. They do not commence the task of grinding bread-stuff until fourteen or fifteen. When they become connected in marriage, they generally cease to perform the laborious services of bringing water, and collecting wood, and also of grinding corn, unless they are extremely poor,

A small portion of the Abyssinians place their children in convents or elsewhere, with the desire of furnishing them with the means of instruction; others are unwilling to do this, lest their children should become monks. For this reason, many boys resolutely desert their parents, with the determination of obtaining an education by their own efforts. They gain little of that lore, however, which they leave their homes to acquire. Whether under the tuition of priests, or other private teachers, they are sometimes doomed to be employed as domestic servants through the day, and all the instruction they receive is dispensed to them during the night; or, after repeating their lessons, they are forced to wander about the streets, and beg their daily sustenance. There are, however, some wealthy individuals, who are in the habit of supporting a few children of poor parents, and of supplying them with gratuitous instruction. Most of the noble families place their sons in convents, to afford them facilities for learning to read, and to commit to memory the Psalms; this being all the knowledge which their parents are anxious to provide for them. The daughters in families of the same rank, are taught little but spinning and culinary duties, though a few women of distinction are able to read.

The course of studies, pursued by those who are desirous of becoming what they term *learned men*, is considerably more extensive. When they have learned to read they are required to commit to

memory the Gospel of St. John, and to read several of St. Paul's Epistles, together with a number of the Homilies of Chrysostom. After they have thus been initiated into the mysteries of the temple of knowledge, they are assigned the severer task of learning by heart the Psalms of David, the Oudassè Mariam, and several prayers, winding up by committing to memory the dictionary of the Ethiopic language. This last, however, few ever succeed in accomplishing. Finally, to give the finishing touch to their education, they unite themselves to one of the sages of the country, who explains to them the Scriptures and other religious books, and expounds their code of civil laws. A few acquire the art of writing; and, as far as I can judge from what has fallen under my own observation, I should think, that in that part of the country where the Amharic is the prevailing language, about one fifth of the male population have gained some knowledge of reading; and in the province of Tigre, not far, perhaps, from one twelfth.

As soon as the son of a nobleman has learned to read, be it well or ill, his father entrusts him with the government of a district, more or less extensive, proportioned to the strength of the affection he bears him. He then surrounds him with a train of servants, settles him in marriage, and makes him a soldier for the rest of his days. Daughters of the same rank marry at a very early period, often at eight or nine years of age; and seldom appear in public afterwards, until subsequent to the death of their husbands. Among the common people, when a young man is about sixteen, if he intends to remain with his father, he begins to arrange his affairs in such a manner as to be able, at the age of seventeen or eighteen, to unite himself in marriage with a young girl three or four years his junior; and he then settles down as an agriculturist for the remainder of his life. Most of his labors consist in breaking up the soil and sowing the seed, in erecting and repairing his buildings, and sometimes he may be seen in the field assisting his wife in gathering the harvest; but the rest of the hardships and toils incident to the management and sustenance of a family, devolve upon the woman. About one half of the young men, at the age of sixteen, select their occupation as soldiers or laborers, and usually for life; for they seldom rise from the condition in which they first settle; being entire strangers to forethought and economy.

The Abyssinians conduct themselves with mildness towards their

slaves, addressing them in the same tone of kindness and respect with which they speak to their equals ; and, as it is always considered a mark of easy circumstances and a benevolent heart to maintain a great number of servants, every one is emulous of keeping as many as he conveniently can, although he has little for them to do. There are few male servants in the country ; but female servants are to be found in every family, patiently toiling in the various departments of domestic service,—grinding corn, carrying water, gathering wood, and performing kindred laborious duties. The Christian part of community rarely sell their slaves, though they sometimes give them away.

Most Abyssinians of both sexes, whatever their condition, whether rich or poor, married or unmarried, when they perceive themselves far advanced in years, seek the retirement, and assume the character, of nuns or monks. The rich, when they thus retire, transfer their possessions to their children, who, with the strongest demonstrations of filial affection, administer to their pleasures, and supply their wants. The poor having no other means of sustenance, depend on the charities of their neighbors. It is common for men at every period of life, to withdraw, and assume monastic habits ; but the women generally delay till they arrive at the age of forty or fifty years. As the Abyssinians ordinarily do not cover their heads, but anoint them with butter, one may easily recognize the monks and nuns by the bonnets they wear. It is customary for a portion of the monks, especially for such as make the greatest pretensions to devotion and learning, to wear no other clothing than the skin of a deer or some other animal. This apparent humility, however, seldom deceives the people, who are too well acquainted with their real characters to be beguiled into any very high degree of veneration or respect.

When a man becomes embarrassed with debts, he frequently becomes a monk, which frees him from the obligation to pay them, though he may continue to live with his wife, who is a nun ; but should he take another wife, he would be still obliged to pay them.

The food of the Abyssinians is ordinarily very simple ; and their mode of cooking, to one fond of pepper, is by no means disagreeable. Their houses are all furnished with tables, though the children and servants generally seat themselves upon the ground while taking their meals. At the house of the Dejasmat, he alone claims



the dignity of a seat; all his officers arrange themselves on carpets spread upon the ground. When they wish to make rather more than an ordinary repast, they commence by loading the table with various kinds of bread. The family and guests then seating themselves in appropriate places around the room, are first served with bread of an inferior quality, perhaps of barley or wheat; afterwards with bread of *black teff*; and lastly with that of *white-teff*—a kind of food much used by the more wealthy classes. For a second course, they are served with meat or pulse. They now seat themselves at the table, and each one dips his bread into the sauce, then moulding it into a roll, thrusts it into his mouth. When they wish to show special honor to any one at table, particularly to a stranger, a female servant assumes the office of preparing for him mouthfuls of bread, and, inserting in each roll a morsel of meat, places it in his hands.

At their common meals, the husband and wife usually sit side by side, and introduce rolls of bread reciprocally, and at the same time, into each other's mouth. When this is not the case, but both are seen serving themselves respectively, it is evident that they live unpleasantly together. As the Abyssinians never have two wives at the same house, I think the memory of Mr. Bruce must have failed him, when he described two women as serving at the same time, the mouth of one man. Both sexes of the Abyssinians are too jealous for this, unless it might have been done for the sake of pleasantry, or to carry out a joke; though such an instance even never came to my knowledge. Nor have I ever seen any excepting husband and wife feed each other.

At the houses of the governors, and sometimes in private families, on occasions when numerous guests are assembled, it is customary for the males and females to take their repast in separate apartments; or where this is not convenient, to suspend a curtain between them, so as entirely to exclude them from the view of each other. I can scarcely believe, therefore, that the celebrated feast of which Bruce has given so disgusting a delineation, could ever have taken place, excepting among the grossest libertines of the country. Among the affluent, however, when the first course is finished, they generally bring on for a dessert, the *bronds*, or the raw flesh of a fattened beef; and every one freely helps himself to as large a share as he thinks he shall need. They then pass the



wine or metheglin, and regale themselves with the delicious beverage ; though if the family is poor, beer is commonly used in its stead.

Most of the houses in Abyssinia are furnished with only a single bed, which is occupied by the father and mother of the family. Children and servants commonly sleep upon the bare ground ; sometimes, indeed, they are allowed the luxury of pieces of leather or skins on which to rest, though they generally use nothing more to cover them than their ordinary garments. The wife occasionally stoops to the humiliating duty of washing her husband's feet ; but notwithstanding this mark of inferiority, the indications of affection and equality between them are far more numerous, than are usually found in the families of the Arabs. The wife never uses the terms, *thou* and *thee*, when addressing her husband, though he always uses them when speaking to her.

This people are somewhat peculiar in their mode of using the persons and numbers of the verbs and pronouns of their language, as indicative of rank or respect. When speaking to their equals, they use the second person, singular ; when a child addresses his parents, or the wife her husband, they employ the second person, plural ; when they are absent, the third person, plural ; both of the pronoun and verb. When addressing a superior, or a man whom they wish especially to honor, they make use of the third person of the singular number for the pronoun, and of the plural for the verb, though, if absent, they employ the plural for the pronoun also. In the province of Tigre, they use the singular number both of the pronoun and verb, only in speaking with those with whom they are on terms of great familiarity, or in addressing their children ; in all other cases, they employ the second person plural, except in speaking of a governor in his absence, when they use the third person plural. I have mentioned these peculiarities, because, in not observing them, one will be liable to be drawn into vehement disputes and bitter altercations, especially with the priests. White men, however, are usually allowed the privilege of addressing all classes of people in the singular number.

The Abyssinians pay great respect to their superiors, being rarely heard to speak reproachfully of those who rule over them. Servants are strongly attached to their masters ; they swear by their names ; and if they have been the peculiar objects of their regard in life, continue the practice after their deaths.

In every district, and in every village throughout the country, there is a market or fair once a week, where the inhabitants assemble and purchase their requisite supplies for the ensuing eight days. Men and women indiscriminately crowd to this general rendezvous, though the men seldom traffic in cotton, or the women in meat. The men, indeed, never interfere in the management of domestic concerns, although they usually assume the task of washing the garments worn by both sexes, excepting such as the women choose to do for themselves. Their mode of cleansing them is very simple. They make a hole in the ground by the side of a stream of pure water; on the bottom of this they spread a piece of leather; and after having laid upon it the clothes to be washed, and sprinkled them with a kind of flour, produced from a fruit very much resembling the Corinthian grape, they fill the hole with water. Then entering it, they tread the clothes enveloped in a white foam generated by the flour, for one or two hours. They afterwards dip them in the pure running water of the stream, and the work is done. They take them out white as the driven snow.

The dress of the men consists of a pair of drawers reaching down to the knees, a girdle, and a species of mantle wrapped about them. The clothing of the women is composed of a double chemise, and a mantle similar to that worn by the men, though differently adjusted. The monks and priests, as well as the *Lics* and *Alacas*, also wear a chemise instead of a girdle; and cover their heads with a sort of cap, or if they have the means, with a turban. The young men up to the age of thirty-five or forty, adopt very different modes of arranging the hair, though they all agree in dividing it into several small tresses. On the decease of those very dear to them, they shave their heads in honor of their memories.

When traveling, the Abyssinians seldom take anything for sustenance on their journey, except a little flour and salt, of which, when they stop for the night, they prepare unleavened bread, and dip it into the sauce of the family with whom they lodge. The merchants, who generally travel in caravans, enjoy almost the same conveniences of life while on their route as at home; though the poor who accompany them, are constrained to accept such accommodations as the former are disposed to give them. In carrying burdens, the men support them either upon their heads, or on one

shoulder ; the women bear them on both shoulders at a time ; never on one, nor on their heads.

The Abyssinians are oppressed with numerous superstitions. I will not, however, delay my readers to detail them ; merely giving a brief account of a singular prejudice, which has shot broad and deep its roots, and which is working a subtle influence, hostile to the moral and religious interest of the country. I refer to their belief in sorcerers, and the influence of malignant eyes. When one is seized with disease, or experiences any misfortune, both himself and neighbors are at once disposed to seek the cause in some supernatural power exerted by the *boudas*, or in the influence of malignant eyes. Their suspicions, at first uncertain and vague, soon fix on some individual to whom they ascribe the origin of the evil, and who, in consequence, becomes the victim of a secret and implacable hostility. I have been informed of a man still living, who was made finally to believe himself possessed of a malignant eye. He made frequent experiments to convince himself of the truth of the supposition ; and, at one time, after having gazed upon a child with his right eye, while the other was closed, he learned that it fell sick on the following day ; and he was so thoroughly convinced of the evil influence of his eye, that he caused it to be removed from its socket. Such is the power of superstition.

This ignorant and benighted people seem particularly desirous of withdrawing the veil which shuts the future from our view ; consequently, they are disposed to cherish the recollection, and submit to the authority, of a thousand vague and frivolous auguries. Barely the singing of a small blue-bird on the left of an army which has commenced its march against the enemy, is sometimes sufficient to induce the officers to stop their course, and retrace their steps. But I will neither waste my time, nor weary my readers, by recounting the various signs, which seem, to the mind of an Abyssinian, to open the door of futurity. Let one contemplate the numerous fantasies and wizard forms, which a roaming imagination can conjure up, and he may have some idea of the vast structure of superstition, which the Abyssinians, whose lives are chiefly spent in idleness, and not unfrequently in debauchery, have ingeniously contrived to fabricate.

## CONCLUSION.

FROM the preceding narrative, one can form some idea of the circumstances and general characteristics of the people; and, by consequence, learn what will probably forward, and what oppose, the efforts of the messenger of Christ in this once Christian country. I have endeavored simply to sketch the unvarnished facts as they occurred to my notice, without remark or comment; fearing that I should be guilty either of representing the Abyssinians as worse in condition, and more degraded in morals than they really are; or, on the other hand, of touching their character with too light a pencil; and thus present to the eye of the foreign reader, either too dark or too bright a picture of the present situation of this, in many respects, interesting people. But if I pass from contemplating their present state, to the missionary enterprise among them; if I look at the work which has been already accomplished, and at that which still remains to be done, what shall I say? With regard to the first, I would briefly remark, that the translating and printing portions of the Holy Scriptures in the Amharic language, must be classed among the most important and successful efforts hitherto put forth. I would also add, that I feel warranted in expressing my conviction, that the obstacles now existing to the general diffusion of the Gospel in Abyssinia, need not cool the ardor, or weaken the courage, of the devoted missionary of the cross; if he will go resolutely forward, meekly trusting in the grace and protection of his covenant-keeping God, he may confidently expect that the darkness will become light, and the mountains sink to plains before him. For further information, the reader is referred to the preceding Journal, where he will find that the Word of God contained in the Four Gospels, and a few copies of the Epistles, have been widely disseminated, and are now, it is hoped, working a secret, but healthful influence, and glimmering amidst the moral darkness, as harbingers of light and salvation to this benighted land. The religious conversations, also, which I held with various individuals at Gondar, have gone forth, and been repeated in every province. A spirit of inquiry has been awakened; the best informed among the people have become still more enlightened; and are beginning to feel no little uncertainty concerning errors, which they have hitherto



regarded as established truths. Some of the youth likewise share in the general movement; and seem willing to lend a listening ear to the calls of the Father of mercies, whose good pleasure it is to lead them to Jesus, and eventually crown them with glory and immortality.

With reference to the best course to be pursued in subsequent efforts, it is difficult, beforehand, to speak with precision. One must be guided, in a great measure, by circumstances and the leadings of Providence. The Christians, indeed, with whom I became acquainted, treated me with great cordiality and kindness; nevertheless I know they are so deeply imbedded in prejudice, and their tempers so suspicious, that their jealousy would be instantly kindled to a blaze, by the least movement in their behalf, wearing the appearance of publicity. I will venture, however, to mention the principal methods of operation which strike me as the most natural, the most feasible, and which, perhaps, in the end, will prove the most efficient. In the first place, I should think it advisable, to multiply, as extensively as practicable, copies of the Holy Scriptures; in the second, to preach the Gospel in the form of conversations on every possible occasion, and under all possible circumstances; and lastly, to train up a number of young men with the view of qualifying them to become teachers of schools; for it must be utterly vain to found these nurseries of knowledge and improvement, without having previously fitted some to superintend and instruct them. In establishing missionary stations, I should advise that the cities of refuge, of which I have elsewhere spoken, be selected for the purpose; and while there can be but one establishment of the kind, Gondar, in present circumstances, affords the most eligible situation. It is, indeed, the most populous city in the country; its security depends less upon the influence of the priesthood, than the other cities of refuge, and its situation in the centre of Abyssinia, will draw daily within its walls, travelers of all classes, desirous of seeing the white men, and of hearing them converse. A missionary, therefore, stationed at Gondar, would have all the advantages, and be exempt from many inconveniences of an itinerant preacher; besides being favorably situated for embracing opportunities of political quiet, to visit the different sections of the kingdom. But whether he spends his time in traveling from one portion of the country to another, or remains stationary in some



one city or village, the missionary who would be successful, must, while exercising wisdom in all his connections with the people, *be swayed alone by the love of truth.* He must express himself with humility and simplicity, having for his exclusive object the glory of God, and for his principle of action, the love of his neighbor. I make this suggestion, because, in my intercourse with them, I have seen savage and ferocious tempers softened—rendered mild and tractable by an exhibition of fraternal affection.

It is scarcely necessary to add, that I feel a peculiar interest in the people of Abyssinia; and perhaps I cannot better express my desire for their salvation, than by announcing my intention of speedily returning to preach to them the Gospel of peace. May it please the Lord safely to restore me to my labors, at the expiration of the short period I spend in Europe, with the special view of re-kindling my zeal in the cause of our common Lord, of which I feel the pressing need.

THE END.















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